HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Only One More State Needed

Will Congress Call Constitutional Convention?

By PAUL SCOTT

Congress is going to be confronted squarely for the first time this month with a demand, backed by the Constitution itself, that a call be issued for a national constitutional convention.

Triggered by revelations of financial indiscretions that caused Abe Fortas to resign from the Supreme Court, anti-court resolutions are being brought forward in several state legislatures, including Wisconsin, calling for a constitutional convention.

The proposed convention, the first since the Constitution was adopted, would have power to rewrite the basic charter in such fashion as to overturn the Supreme Court by undoing the court's so-called "one man, one vote" reapportionment rulings.

As it happens, approval of the resolution by a single state legislature would be enough now to force the congressional showdown. A total of 33 state legislatures already have adopted resolutions calling for Congress to act.

Affirmative action by one more state would provide the necessary two-thirds vote required by the Constitution to invoke the "forgotten" Article V which gives state legislatures this means of calling for a convention to amend the Constitution.

With the 34th petition expected to be filed with Congress by mid-June, the congressional confrontation could come shortly after the fifth anniversary of the Supreme Court's landmark reapportionment ruling on June 15, 1964 in the *Reynolds vs. Sims* case.

In that case, the High Court held that "as a basic constitutional standard, the Equal Protection Clause requires that the seats in both houses of a bi-cameral state legislature must be apportioned on a population basis."

In private conversations with other Senate colleagues, Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.), leader of the congressional drive to curb the Supreme Court, reports that he is ready to move swiftly in Congress.

"When the 34th application for a convention has been received by Congress," Sen. Dirksen states, "I am prepared to offer for immediate consideration a Senate Joint Resolution calling for such a convention."

Sen. Dirksen stresses that "the resolution will require only a simple majority in each House, and since the executive branch has no function in the amending process, the resolution will not require presidential approval."

Swift action in bringing up the resolution in the Senate is also forecast by the GOP Senate leader.

"I am advised that the precedents of the Senate make such a resolution one of the highest priority, displacing any other matter before the Senate," Senator Dirksen says.

He also reveals that "a draft of such a resolution has already been prepared and is now undergoing minor revisions." As now written, the Dirksen resolution provides for the national convention to be convened in Constitution Hall in Philadelphia. After the first session, the delegates to the convention would adjourn to the Nation's Capital, where they would conduct their deliberations.

No specific date has been included in the original draft of the Dirksen resolution. Aides of the senator say it is doubtful that such a convention could be held before 1970 under present circumstances. Procedures for electing delegates to the convention would have to be worked out by Congress as well as other matters.

One of the reasons for this delay is the expected filibuster that the Dirksen resolution is expected to touch off in the Senate once the controversial measure is brought before that body.

In a little-noticed article in the *Michigan Law Review*, Dirksen forecast this coming battle, writing:

"The circumstances today indicate that it will quite likely be necessary to invoke cloture in order to terminate debate on this resolution and proceed to a vote."

Although Dirksen was unable a few years ago to obtain the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate to force a vote on a constitutional amendment to curb the Supreme Court's reapportionment powers, the GOP Senate leader believes his new resolution will make the anti-court battle a completely different ballgame.

"The language of Article V of the Constitution admits of a determination to be made and states that 'whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, [Congress] shall propose amendments to this Constitution,'" Dirksen points out. "No such discretion exists under the alternative method when two-thirds of the legislatures have made application for a convention."

Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.), who has been in the forefront of the convention proposal, has high hopes for its success.

Dirksen contends that "the vote of a member for cloture will not be on the question whether an amendment on state legislatures apportionment is necessary or even desirable."

"That decision has already been made by two-thirds of state legislatures as provided by Article V," he states. "This vote, be it one on cloture or on the resolution itself, will be on the question of whether the oath of office that each member took as required by Article VI has any meaning to him."

Should Congress fail to call for the convention, according to Dirksen, the House and Senate will face mandamus proceedings before the Supreme Court to force the legislators to act.

"Legislative leaders of both political parties from a great many state legislatures have discussed this very possibility with me," he states, "and there is agreement among a number of them as to how they will proceed to obtain that which the Constitution guarantees them and which Congress would deny them."

Dirksen points out that "their planned course of action is alarmingly simple: Mandamus proceedings before the Supreme Court."

In replying to charges that a constitutional convention, if called now, would create chaos and might result in "repealing the Bill of Rights," Dirksen is circulating this reminder:

"No amendment, whether it comes as a result of congressional action or convention, can become a part of the Constitution until there has been affirmative action by 38 state legislatures or state conventions.

"Is any greater safeguard needed than this one?"

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NEWSPAPER

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Capital Briefs

● The Administration appears to be gaining ground in winning acceptance of its **anti-ballistic missile program**. Not only are many previous "waverers" reported to be coming around, but a number of senators' offices insist that pro-ABM mail in the past two weeks has drawn even with or surpassed anti-ABM mail. The anti-ABM letters have previously heavily outweighed pro-ABM mail.

● Chief Justice-Designate **Warren Burger**, known for his no-nonsense attitude toward criminals, is also tough on radicals. As a member of the U.S. Court of Appeals, Burger upheld the conviction of an 18-year-old boy for proclaiming to a Communist rally on the Washington Monument grounds that if he were drafted, he'd aim his rifle directly at LBJ. The Supreme Court vacated Burger's ruling.

● Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.) has, temporarily at least, held up Senate confirmation of **McMurtie Godley** as the President's new ambassador to the crucial nation of Laos. Godley, it turns out, was part of the "get Moise Tshombe" crew that operated in the Congo and often favored anti-Western elements in the African region.

● The annual congress of the left-leaning **National Student Association**, former bedmate of the CIA, will be held this year on the campus of the University of Texas at El Paso, beginning August 19. Theme of the congress will be "Revolt on the Campus: 1969," with workshops and discussions "aimed at building the awareness and skills necessary to students organizing for change."

● Contrary to rumors and speculation running wildly throughout the Capitol, Peace Corps Director **Joseph Blatchford** had absolutely no ties with the Central Intelligence Agency when he was running a private, self-help group in Latin America called Accion. Even the liberal New York Post, which did an elaborate analysis of Accion's funding earlier this year, found that CIA money did not bankroll Blatchford's organization.

● President Nixon's firing of **W. Averell Harriman** as America's chief negotiator at the Paris peace talks begins to look better with each passing day. Holding a blind faith that appeasement pays, Harriman says the United States should immediately rescind the order to "keep maximum pressure on the enemy on the ground" and wishes that Nixon would not meet with South Viet Nam's President Thieu in June. Such a meeting could only bolster the Thieu government, Harriman feels, and thus—in Harriman's odd view—lessen the chances for ending the war.

● Rep. **William V. Roth** (R.-Del.) has announced his candidacy for the Senate seat of retiring Republican John Williams. Roth, an articulate conservative and foe of government waste, has the backing of Williams, Delaware's most respected politician for two decades.

● Sen. **Eugene McCarthy** (D.-Minn.), who has said he would not run again as a Democrat, has been urged to run as an independent candidate against Sen. Charles Goodell of New York or Sen. George Murphy of California. While McCarthy has appeared cool to the idea, insiders say he could be talked into it. When the Minnesota maverick learned that Stephen Smith, one of the Kennedy brothers-in-law, might oppose Goodell next year, McCarthy, whose feud with the Kennedys is famous, reportedly replied: "I'd rather run for the Senate in New York than have him [Smith] get it."

● A Baltimore brewery has been indicted on federal charges of illegally helping to finance the 1964 senatorial campaign of former White House press secretary **Pierre Salinger**. The National Brewing Co., headed by top Maryland Democrat Jerry Hoffberger, was charged with using corporate funds to aid Salinger's California drive. If convicted, the firm could be fined $10,000.

● Suffering from poor health and increasing heat from Congress and the press for his outside interests, Associate Justice **William O. Douglas** is expected to resign from the High Court in the not-too-distant future.

● On the dole in Fun City: The **Lindsay Administration** has been paying for the golfing fees and equipment of an "impoverished" welfare recipient, Bronx District Attorney Burton Roberts disclosed last week. Roberts also revealed that the Welfare Department had supplied the golfer "emergency food allowances" to replace money he lost at the race track.

● The pro-Wallace **American Party**, put together in Cincinnati recently, has become the central vehicle to carry the ex-governor's message to voters across the country. T. Coleman Andrews Jr. is the new party's chairman, Bill Davis of Covington, Tenn., its vice chairman and Alexander Hudgins of Richmond, Va., its executive director. Ex-presidential candidate Wallace, who has officially blessed the American party, insisted that "our third-party movement is still necessary."

● Freshman Sen. **Alan Cranston** (D.-Calif.) is sponsoring a resolution that could pave the way for U.S. recognition of Communist countries, including Red China, North Korea and Cuba. Co-sponsored by Sen. George Aiken (R.-Vt.) and supported by a variety of liberals, the resolution states that it is the sense of the Senate that recognition of any country "does not imply that the United States necessarily approves of the form, ideology or policy of that government."

● Dr. **Eugene Genovese**, the former Rutgers professor who created wide controversy four years ago when he said he wouldn't mind a Viet Cong victory in South Viet Nam, has made one of the harshest denunciations yet of the current crop of New Left agitators. Writing in The Atlantic magazine, Dr. Genovese notes that "a notable number" of universities have made "a cowardly surrender" to the demands of "pseudo-revolutionary, middle-class totalitarians." "These suburban putschists," Genovese writes of the students, "are most unlikely to succeed in their stated objectives of purging 'reactionaries,' for they are isolated, incoherent and without adequate power."

HUMAN EVENTS

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Douglas Under the Gun

• Did He Break the Law?

Associate Justice William O. Douglas has been patiently trying to ride out the storm that is swirling around him as a result of his links with the Parvin Foundation, the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions and other various controversial activities. He suffers from a liver condition and his heart is regulated by a pacemaker, so he could easily resign on the grounds of ill health. But the doughty Douglas, who has been on the High Court for 30 years, does not want to bow out with a cloud of suspicion hanging over his head. Nor does he want to permit President Nixon to replace him with a jurist who might push the court in a rightward direction.

DOUGLAS

While the 71-year-old liberal crusader is battling increasing pressures to have him removed from the court, however, insiders at the Justice Department are predicting that the judge may still go the way of Abe Fortas. With each passing day, new evidence is uncovered that makes Douglas highly vulnerable to criticism.

Douglas provided his enemies with fresh ammunition just last week as a result of an intriguing letter he dispatched to Albert Parvin, the multi-millionaire Los Angeles business executive and Douglas benefactor.

In a letter to Parvin drafted on May 12, Douglas, according to the New York *Times*, characterized the Internal Revenue Service investigation of the Albert Parvin Foundation as a "manufactured case" intended to force him to leave the bench. "The strategy is to get me off the court," Douglas wrote. "I do not propose to bend to any such pressure." When Douglas wrote the letter, he was still president and a director of the foundation and was receiving over $12,000 annually. One week later he was to resign.

According to the *Times*, Douglas said the allegations of the IRS must be vigorously fought. He also made several suggestions in his letters as to how, in the future, the finances of the foundation could be completely and unquestionably set apart from Parvin's control or the implication of it.

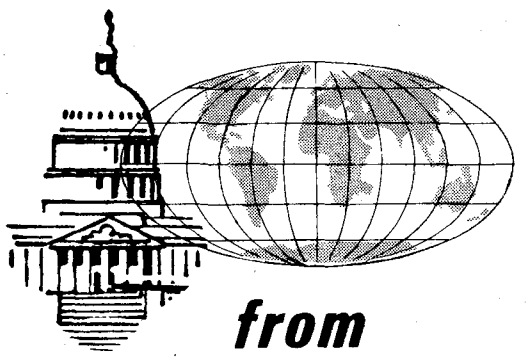
The Douglas missive has not only stirred widespread criticism, but has raised the question as to whether the justice was tendering legal advice—an act that could lead to his impeachment. The Constitution lists "high misdemeanors" as grounds for impeachment. Section 28 of the U.S. Code provides that any "justice or judge appointed under the authorization of the United States who is engaged in the practice of law is guilty of a high misdemeanor." Douglas, of course, was receiving $12,000-plus as the only paid officer of the foundation to which he was offering legal advice.

House Judiciary Chairman Emanuel Celler, the liberal New York Democrat, declined to say whether he felt the letter revealed that Douglas—in violation of federal statutes—had been "practicing law" while simultaneously sitting on the High Court and on the Parvin Foundation. But Celler told a reporter: "If I were in Justice Douglas' shoes, I would never have written that letter."

Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa), whose stoking of the anti-Fortas furnace helped bestir the justice to resign, has commented: "I am certain that Mr. Parvin must have believed this was the best legal advice, since it came from an associate justice of the Supreme Court, and since it dealt with a matter that in the final analysis might be settled before the same United States Supreme Court of which Douglas is a member." Gross added that if the reports of the letter are true, it would appear there is a law violation "and this would certainly be grounds for serious consideration of impeachment."

The normally mild-mannered Washington *Evening Star* also sunk its editorial teeth into Douglas. The statement issued by the Supreme Court's press officer on his behalf, it stressed, was a "curious document." Its essence was that the justice "'knew very little' about the tax troubles of the Albert Parvin Foundation, of which he was president at $12,000 a year, until he resigned this month. This, however, neither denies nor disputes a New York *Times* report of a letter allegedly written by Justice Douglas on May 12 to Albert Parvin, for whom the foundation is named. . . .

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

". . . If Justice Douglas knew very little about the foundation's tax problem, as the press officer's statement says, how could he describe the IRS investigation, which began in 1966, as a 'manufactured case'? Before making any such accusation, one might expect a Supreme Court justice at least to know what he is talking about.

"Finally, the letter indicates that Justice Douglas gave some tax advice to Parvin. If he did, it was a gross impropriety, if not a violation of law.

"This is too serious a matter to be hushed up or dropped. The fitness of Justice Douglas to stay on the court is very much in question. If there is reason to think there is more to it than has yet appeared, the Department of Justice should take possession of all documents and correspondence bearing on the relationship between the justice on the one hand and the foundation and Parvin on the other. This would make it possible to get to the bottom of this matter, which most certainly should be done."

The Justice Department, *Human Events* has been led to believe, is working to get to the "bottom of this matter."

• Those Parvin Foundation Ties

Justice William O. Douglas' connection with the Albert Parvin Foundation has drawn the wrath of irate lawmakers not only because of the sizable fee that Douglas received during seven of the 10 years that he has been the foundation's president or because of the foundation's relationship to the left-wing Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Douglas has also received stinging criticism because of the charitable foundation's intriguing ties to gambling interests and underworld characters and its rather shadowy operations.

For one thing, as *Newsweek* related last week, Douglas in 1966 gave every impression of denying that the foundation's income was ever derived from gambling activities. He thought that a first mortgage on the Flamingo casino-hotel, which had been donoted by Albert Parvin, "was owned for a brief period but disposed of."

At the same time Harry Ashmore, a director of the foundation, insisted that various trust arrangements isolated the foundation from the "operation of any . . . enterprise in Las Vegas."

Yet Internal Revenue Service documents examined by *Newsweek* revealed that "the foundation's main source of income at the time both men were speaking was the Flamingo mortgage, which has generated $28,000 in revenues a month to the small foundation and which was still in the foundation's investment portfolio at the time it filed its last report covering the year 1967."

The foundation also owned 5,000 shares in a corporation that had casinos in Las Vegas and Lake Tahoe. And through its holdings of Parvin/Dohrmann stock—which is under investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission—the foundation had an interest in the Freeman Casino hotel, which P/D had bought in June 1966.

(Parvin/Dohrmann, which owns three Las Vegas gambling casinos, has been in the news for about two months since the American Stock Exchange first suspended trading in the fast-climbing stock that had soared from $22 to a peak of $141 in less than a year. Now it's down to about $80. The SEC temporarily suspended trading on the grounds that investors did not have adequate information about the company's acquisition program, the circumstances surrounding its change of control last October and other matters.)

Equally as interesting has been the revelation that the tax-exempt Parvin Foundation engaged in "self-dealing" stock transactions which were not reported to the Internal Revenue Service for several years. The foundation's first self-dealing transaction was on April 3, 1961, when Parvin sold it 95,000 shares of Webb & Knapp Inc., for $119,700, which was said to be market value at the time. Then in December Parvin purchased a block of shares in another corporation from the foundation.

These two transactions, however, were not reported to the IRS in any of the foundation's tax returns, as required by law, until 1967—the year after the government started its investigation. In its initial application for tax-exempt status in 1962, moreover, the foundation responded "No" to the question of whether its organizer had sold it "any securities or other properties." This would seem to have been an untruth. Self-dealing transactions are not banned by current tax laws, but they must be reported and they have on occasion prompted revocation of tax-exempt status. Critics say that as president of the foundation, Douglas should have made certain that its tax returns were scrupulously complete and accurate.

A suit filed May 16 with the U.S. Supreme Court, moreover, indicates that the operations of the Parvin Foundation have not yet been fully explored. The suit has been filed by Sherman Skolnick, a paraplegic invalid who lives with his family on Chicago's southeast side, in an attempt to correct malapportioned political districts.

In recent years, according to Bob Seltzner of Chicago's *Daily Calumet*, Skolnick has repeatedly confronted Judge William J. Campbell of the U.S. District Court for northern Illinois over these and other taxpayer suits.

In January 1967, long before the Fortas and Douglas affairs gained national prominence, Skolnick demanded Judge Campbell's removal from his cases because of Campbell's own connection with the Parvin Foundation. In his recent suit Skolnick alleged of the Parvin Foundation that it has had questionable characters connected with it. Among some of those Skolnick listed as having links to the foundation:

(1) M — L —, a "gangster and specialist in multiple murders. He masterminded the Capone mob's post-war invasion of the $18-million-dollar-a-year Dallas, Tex., rackets."

REPRINTS AVAILABLE

Reprints are now available of "Are Soviets Planning Nuclear First Strike?", the four-page article by Phyllis Schlafly and Adm. Chester Ward which appeared in the May 24, 1969, issue of **Human Events**. Single copies 35¢; 10 for $3; 50 for $12.50; 100 for $25.

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Military and diplomatic experts opposed to expanding trade with the Soviets—unless the Soviets give concrete political concessions in return—were absolutely delighted last week when the Nixon Administration disclosed before a Senate Banking and Currency Committee subcommittee that it had decided not to encourage further trade with Communist countries, as the "situation exists today." While an apparent battle has been going on within high levels of government over Red trade policies, Joseph A. Greenwald, of the State Department, and Kenneth N. Davis Jr., of the Commerce Department, urged the subcommittee members not to loosen up trade restrictions in the Export-Control Act. To the fury of Sen. Edmund Muskie (D.-Maine), chairman of the subcommittee, and liberals like Sen. Charles Percy (R.-Ill.), these Administration spokesmen made it clear that the President will not begin to expand trade until the Communists stop making trouble for the U.S. around the globe.

(2) Edward Levinson, "who has a contract with Parvin Dohrmann Co., interlocked company connected with the Parvin Foundation. . . ." In 1965, when the Fremont casino was purchased by Parvin-Dohrmann—some of whose shares are owned by the Parvin Foundation—the agreement stipulated that Edward Levinson, then an officer of the Fremont casino, was to be paid $100,000 a year for five years. Levinson invoked the 5th Amendment against possible self-incrimination when called before a Senate Committee investigating the dealings of Bobby Baker. The Skolnick suit takes off from there.

At any rate, Justice Douglas' connection with the Parvin Foundation—which reportedly will lose its tax-exempt status very shortly—does not look as if it will fade away as an issue. Rep. Clark MacGregor (R.-Minn.), who helped lead a House drive that led to the resignation of Justice Fortas, now wants to summon Douglas before the Judiciary committee for thorough questioning on his outside income, particularly from the Albert Parvin Foundation.

• Consultant to the Center

After considerable public pressure, Justice Douglas late last month resigned his position with the Parvin Foundation. But the justice is still coming under withering cross-fire for his refusal to sever ties with the ideologically oriented Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, which also has Parvin Foundation links. Douglas has received about $4,000 from the Center in the past year and a half and was paid $4,104 for 1962 and 1963 by the Fund for the Republic, a chief sponsor of the Center. The Center, furthermore, has been the second highest recipient of funds from the Parvin Foundation, which chipped in $70,000 to the Center from 1965 to 1967. As president of the tax-exempt Parvin Foundation—a chief bankroller of the Center—and as chairman of the board of the Center, Douglas has been the beneficiary of a cozy little arrangement.

Aside from the extremely snug relationship between the two tax-exempt foundations—both of which are under IRS scrutiny—the central question in Douglas' continuing ties to the Center is this: how can Douglas, who receives substantial sums from the Center and its operations, objectively face issues that come before the High Court?

The Center has been a chief incubator of radical ideas and has sponsored a myriad of activities that are heavily weighted in favor of unilateral disarmament, warmer relationships with the Communists and an end to the Viet Nam war on terms favorable to Ho Chi Minh.

The Center hatched the radical National Conference for New Politics and hosted a three-day meeting of radical students at which Devereaux Kennedy, president of the Washington University student association, advocated terrorism to "demoralize and castrate America" and "outright revolution to overthrow the government of the United States." Center Vice President Harry S. Ashmore—also a Parvin Foundation director—visited Ho Chi Minh during the Johnson Administration with the aim of selling Ho's ideas on ending the war to the U.S. government.

Yet Douglas apparently sees nothing wrong with being a $500-a-day consultant to the Center and ruling on momentous decisions that the Center itself has already taken sides on.

Even liberals have begun to criticize Douglas for his connections with the Center. The New York *Times* editorially remarked that "it is a questionable practice for Justice Douglas to serve as chairman of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, Calif. Although this association is much less objectionable than his connection with the Parvin Foundation, the Center does in effect take sides on highly controversial public issues."

Nicholas von Hoffman, an extremely liberal columnist for the Washington *Post*, frowned on the situation, remarking that if H.L. Hunt were discovered to have been paying Justice Byron R. White to run a conservative foundation, "you can bet your sweet bippy there would be a big noise." And, Hoffman thinks, deservedly so.

Interestingly enough, F. Edward Hebert (D.-La.), chairman of the House Armed Services Subcommittee on the National Guard and the draft has bluntly demanded that Douglas withdraw from the Supreme Court's consideration of a far-reaching case involving the constitutionality of a key provision of the Selective Service Act. Hebert took this position on the ground that Douglas is notoriously biased and prejudiced against the Viet Nam war and what he calls "militarism."

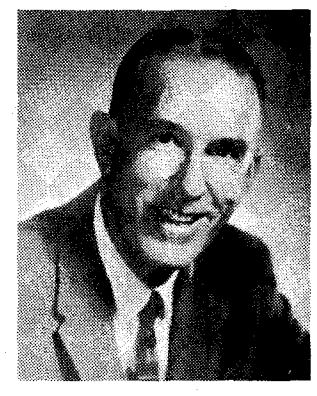
As evidence of this, Hebert cited Douglas' granting of a number of stays to prevent the shipment of troops to Viet Nam after other members of the Supreme Court had turned them down. In every case, Douglas' stays were overturned by the court as a whole.

"Justice Douglas," Hebert recently told columnist Robert Allen, "has publicly committed himself in opposition to the Viet Nam war, and has long sought opportunity to take 'legal' action which would cripple the ability of the military to continue our operations in Viet Nam. If Douglas takes part in passing on the crucial case pending before the Supreme Court, it would appear that the cards are already stacked against the government."

As a result of Douglas' active participation with the Center and his continuing consultant fees, the cards, in the view of Capitol Hill observers, might be even more stacked than Hebert himself believes.

• Douglas and the Smut Peddler

Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.) assailed Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas last week for a free-lance article on folk-singing that the wrote for the March issue of *Avante Garde*, a magazine published by convicted pornographer Ralph Ginzburg. The dis-



FANNIN

GINZBURG

closure signalled new troubles for the aging jurist, who has been under repeated attacks since the Fortas affair.

Ginzburg drew a five-year prison term in 1963 on obscentiy charges stemming from the publication of *Eros, Liaison News Letter* and *The Housewife's Handbook on Selective Promiscuity*.

In 1966 the Supreme Court upheld the conviction in a 5-to-4 decision, ruling that all three were "sold as stock in trade of the sordid business of pandering." Douglas was among the dissenters.

While Douglas has refused to say how much he was paid for the article—an aide said the judge considers it his "private business"—Ginzburg admits to paying Douglas $350. (Douglas, curiously, recently stated he agreed that it would be sound policy for justices to disclose their total income.)

Noting that Ginzburg is currently appealing the severity of his sentence in a lower court in Philadelphia, Fannin commented: "I find it extremely difficult to understand why Justice Douglas cannot discern the impropriety—or at least the appearance of impropriety—in his writing for a publication by a man convicted of violating federal obscenity statutes who has an appeal pending." Ginzburg, in fact, has two cases that could reach the Supreme Court. One involves his obscenity conviction and the other is a libel judgement against him won by Sen. Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.).

Added Fannin: "It seems to me that a substantial and continuing question of judgment is raised in connection with these and other writings and actions of Mr. Douglas. I cannot believe him to be ignorant or naive of the consequences of these actions. The only other conclusion is arrogance . . . .

"The question of whether he received a fee for these and other writings is not nearly so important as his contemptuous scoffing at the canons of judicial ethics and his scornful disdain of the respect Americans have a right to expect of their Supreme Court judges."

Yorty's Startling Comeback

Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty's sensational come-from-behind win over Negro challenger Tom Bradley has stunned the Liberal Establishment nationwide. Incumbent Yorty had trailed Bradley by a better than 3-to-2 margin in the April primary, but the maverick Democratic mayor, fighting the polls, the powerful Los Angeles *Times*, many liberal Republicans and his Democratic enemies, was handily elected to a third term on May 27 by voters who poured out in record numbers for the municipal elections.

YORTY

The Yorty victory was sad news for liberals. Sens. Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.) and Charles Percy (R.-Ill.) had endorsed Bradley; the Los Angeles *Times*, which is rapidly becoming the Washington *Post* of the L.A. area, tossed its full weight behind Bradley by savagely assailing Yorty. Such prominent Democratic liberals as Teddy Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey had backed the Bradley bid.

While some California Republicans endorsed the liberal councilman, the blow was particularly crushing to California Democrats who had, with only one prominent exception, teamed together to put Bradley in charge of Los Angeles.

A massive defeat was also suffered by extremist elements who had penetrated the Bradley campaign and hoped to use him to build a left-wing base for California's radical Democrats.

While liberals were wringing their hands in disbelief over the election, conservatives were jubilant. Not only did the highly liberal Bradley go down to defeat, but conservatives managed to sweep two out of three posts for the city's board of education and capture five of seven junior college trusteeships.

The liberals are now in full-throated cry that Yorty's fabulous comeback was due to his alleged "racist" campaign—a charge solemnly echoed by the Washington *Post* and the New York *Times* and defeated candidate Bradley himself.

Though Yorty is a rough-and-tumble political operator, the alibi just won't wash. Yorty's major accusation that Bradley was soft on black militants and white radicals and that a Bradley victory would be a victory for the extremists was based on solid facts.

The fears Yorty aroused were fears that were well justified, for Bradley, despite his 21 years with the police force, had surrounded himself with militants. The city councilman, furthermore, was remembered for his own "soft-on-militants" attitude in 1967 when he called for an investigation of the police rather than of a Communist-inspired mob that had demostrated against LBJ at the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles.

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Radicals were not on the fringes of Bradley's campaign, but right in the heart of it. Maury Weiner, the southern director for the ultra-left Californians for Liberal Representation, was Bradley's campaign manager. The 1967 report of California's Senate Fact-Finding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities reveals that the CLR is honeycombed with radicals, including those with close connections with the Communist party.

Don Rothenberg, Bradley's controversial campaign coordinator, was very active in the Communist party in the late 1940s and 1950s, even to the point of becoming the finance director for a national committee on behalf of convicted Soviet spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

Rothenberg recently stated—for the first time publicly to anyone's knowledge—that he left the party in 1956, but that didn't prevent him from subsequently engaging in extremist activities or hobnobbing with Communists.

In 1967, for instance, Rothenberg chaired a meeting of the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee in the Hall of Flowers in Golden Gate Park. According to news reports in July of that year, the meeting was actually "a drive for funds to buy guns for Bay Area Negroes. . . ." Black Panthers and several identified Communists participated in the meeting.

While during the campaign Rothenberg denied the accounts of the meeting given by the newspapers, he never denied the widely publicized reports of this meeting back in 1967.

Furthermore, the San Francisco *Examiner's* ace reporter, Ed Montgomery, who had written an article about the meeting, informed *Human Events* that he had received his information from two assistants who covered the controversial gathering in person and had taken tapes of the inflammatory speeches that had been delivered.

Even columnists Evans and Novak—no conservatives they—hinted at the radicalism of Bradley's campaign in a column that appeared a few days before the election. According to the columnists, Maurey Weiner and Negro lawyer Sam Williams—"the two managers of the Bradley campaign"—adamantly refused to remove Rothenberg from the campaign after his extremist record had been exposed.

Noted the columnists: "One of Bradley's financial angels, complaining that Weiner and Williams 'sometimes act like revolutionaries,' told us: 'Once in a while I get a queasy feeling about who will be in charge if Bradley wins.' "

Happily for California and the conservatives, it was not Bradley.

Lindsay's 'Tax' Collector

The "Mr. Clean" image of New York Mayor John Lindsay was tarnished last week by the disclosure that the city's tax chief was soliciting lawyers who "may" have city business for contributions to the Lindsay campaign kitty.

LINDSAY

The Lindsay aide, Benjamin G. Browdy, admitted that he obtained $6,000 from 18 contributors, some of whom, he conceded, may be practicing before his tax commission.

Linday's campaign manager, Richard Aureilo, claimed lamely that Browdy had not solicited the money, that it had been "pressed upon him" by the lawyers. Not so, said Browdy, who told the New York *Times* that he had sought out the contributions.

In a similar case in 1961, the city's board of ethics made clear that such solicitation was a breach of ethical conduct. "The solicitation of funds for political purposes by a high public official from those whose matters come before him or his agency for official action is offensive to proper ethical standards," the board said.

The 1961 contributions, raised for then Mayor Robert Wagner, were returned by Wagner. But Lindsay's campaign manager said last week that the latest contributions would not be refunded.

Reuther's Strange Alliance

The nation's two largest labor unions, the two-million-member Teamsters and the 1.6-million-member United Auto Workers, have now officially joined forces to form the new Alliance for Labor Action (ALA), a project first announced last year. And with the ALA's founding conference in Washington last week, the perennial radical of the labor movement, Walter Reuther, is back in action, with a new platform from which to propagate and push his ultra-liberal social programs.

REUTHER

Reuther wasted no time in doing just this. Last week's initial ALA meeting passed resolutions condemning the Viet Nam war, opposing the ABM missile system, calling for a drastic cut in military spending, urging a "taxpayers' revolt" and proposing a broad new national health insurance program. And how does the ALA hope to see these proposals become law? First, "we improve the composition of Congress and then wage an all-out fight," said Walter Reuther.

Many observers noted the great similarity—if not identity—between the ALA's legislative positions and those of Sen. Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.) and other liberals now active in the recently formed New Democratic Coalition. In fact, UAW organizer Paul Schrade is co-chairman of the NDC, while an NDC founder, Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.), was one of the speakers at the labor alliance convention.

Reuther's ties to the Kennedy family's political fortunes are long standing, going back to his pre-convention support for John F. Kennedy in 1960. The Teamsters, however, are another story.

It was the late Robert F. Kennedy who, as U.S. attorney general, was successful in putting Teamster leader Jimmy Hoffa behind bars for jury tampering. But apparently Hoffa, acting union President James Fitzsimmons and the Teamsters are willing to forgive and forget; at the ALA conference Fitzsimmons was more harsh than Reuther in condemning the Viet Nam war.

Politicians do not expect the new ALA to be a strong campaign force for some time. Although Reuther's UAW has long been the nation's most politically active union at election time, the Teamsters have never participated formally in a national campaign or endorsed candidates above the local level. Moreover, the UAW's considerable political clout is fairly restricted to the big city industrial areas where there are auto and auto parts plants; most such areas are already represented by liberal Democratic officials.

What the new alliance will have is money and members. The former will be especially helpful in politics and congressional lobbying. The coffers of the country's two richest unions will also help in labor action projects—such as organizing farm workers, organizing community unions—designed in part to embarrass the elderly AFL-CIO.

Both the Teamsters and the UAW had been ostracized from the AFL-CIO, the Teamsters back in 1957 for racketeering and the Auto Workers last year for non-payment of dues. Interestingly, as an AFL-CIO vice president in '57 Reuther had led the fight to oust the corruption-tainted Teamsters. Reuther's long-standing feud with the labor federation's president, George Meany, is well known, as is the fact that many of the Auto Workers' leader's criticisms of Meany center around allegations that the AFL-CIO has failed to "organize the unorganized" and to actively pursue social goals.

With the inauguration of the Alliance for Labor Action, Reuther can now undertake both these projects, as well as get back in the political swim on a grand scale. Meany, although he reportedly feels the ALA is a direct challenge to the AFL-CIO's authority in labor organizing, is withholding public comment on the latest activities of his nemesis from Detroit.

Reuther, however, has never been one to mince words. In his closing speech at the ALA founding conference last week, the fiery UAW leader immodestly claimed the new alliance was going to "mobilize a force that no power can stop."

Tax-Supported Welfare Militants

The militant National Welfare Rights Organization, now under consideration for a $300,000 federal grant, is currently enjoying a $434,930 handout from the Department of Labor, it was learned last week.

Now on the desk of Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Robert Finch is a proposal that the NWRO be given $300,000 to aid those with "physical and emotional" difficulties. The grant has been cleared by lower level officials and NWRO spokesmen say approval by Finch is just "a matter of time" (see *Human Events* last week, page 4).

The HEW grant will not be the first received by the militant, Washington-based group that purports to speak for welfare recipients throughout the country. Last December, in the closing days of the Johnson Administration, the Department of Labor signed a lucrative contract with a NWRO affiliate, the National Self-Helf Corporation.

The NWRO subsidiary was given $434,930 to "explore and recommend ways in which the welfare recipients can assume leadership roles" in the government's work-incentive program.

Ironically, NWRO is a virulent foe of the work-incentive program, which provides that welfare officials may refer physically fit welfare mothers to jobs. NWRO's dashiki-clad director, Dr. George A. Wiley, admitted last week that the organization was still vehemently opposed to this provision.

"We don't feel we're committed to all aspects of the program," Wiley said. "We're disseminating accurate information about the program, and if there are benefits, as some claim, we'll make recipients aware of them."

Wiley was in New York where he and his followers disrupted the National Conference on Social Welfare with demands that members kick in $35,000 to his group. On May 25, NWRO thugs stormed into the Grand Ballroom of the New York Hilton, seized the platform, and blocked exits until the conference members anted up the money.

"Get it up," Wiley demanded. "That is why poor people are here."

The New York *Times* denounced Wiley's "wreckers" in no uncertain terms, accusing them of fostering race or class warfare. "The young terrorists who invaded [the] convention and held 1,500 delegates prisoner for nearly an hour are obviously uninterested in aiding the needy Americans for whom they professed to speak," the *Times* said.

The *Times* editorial described NWRO as a "revolutionary organization" that opposes "orderly movement toward correction of social ills" and favors, instead, "the flames of race, or class, warfare." This is the group now enjoying a $434,930 Labor Department contract and under consideration for another $300,000 from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Leadership Fund Report

Readers of **Human Events** will be happy to learn that over 2,236 key officials, both appointed and elected, have been provided with **Human Events** subscriptions to run for approximately two years. Included are key individuals in all three branches of government, including the White House staff, the Cabinet and sub-Cabinet officials, key officials in various executive and independent departments, agencies, boards and commissions, key members of the Federal Judiciary, all Senators, Representatives and key staff personnel in the Legislative Branch, and Governors and party leaders of state legislatures.

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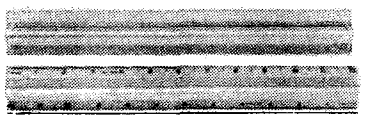

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Book Review

The Unity of Conservatism

By M. STANTON EVANS

Critics of conservatism have long delighted in pointing out what they say are hopeless contradictions in the political outlook of the right. In this view, what is called "conservatism" in America is a hodge-podge of unrelated attitudes which really isn't conservative at all.

This sort of attack, endlessly repeated in various liberal books and articles, draws obvious support from disagreements within the conservative camp itself. People who favor one emphasis over another and who attempt to read each other out of "the movement," have created the impression that there is no coherent body of conservative doctrine.

'The Conservative Mainstream'
By Frank S. Meyer
Arlington House, 1969
488 pages, $8.

More than any other American writer, Frank Meyer has set about to resolve these apparent contradictions and spell out the essential unity of conservatism. In this writer's opinion, his labor has been remarkably successful, showing in a wide variety of subjects how one part of the conservative view fits with and complements the next, and how each strand of thought traces back to a common body of principle.

The Conservative Mainstream, a collection of articles, columns and reviews which have appeared in various journals over the past 15 years, shows the consistency of Meyer's efforts in this regard. Although based on periodical journalism written against deadlines across a wide span of time, it is a tight and consistent volume, demonstrating both the coherence of conservatism and the clarity of thought which Meyer brings to the dissection of issues.

Matters discussed in the book include almost everything of interest to conservatives: Questions of religious value, "relativism" in philosophy, the requirements of constitutional government, the liberty of the individual, free enterprise vs. Keynesian economics, the Cold War struggle with communism, the importance of such conservative figures as Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan, and so forth.

While many of these subjects are taken up on their topical merits, each is related to a clear and comprehensive vision of the political process and the troubles which affect it. Meyer correctly notes that the crisis of our age is total, and that its outcroppings in any particular locale or category are simply different expressions of the same essential problem.

The problem, in Meyer's analysis, is that the liberal rulers of American politics and American thought have misconstrued the nature of man and the necessary purposes of government. As a result, they have disordered our politics in all its phases and have also contributed to the general disorder in the world. Until their mistakes are corrected by the application of conservative principle across the board, the disorder will continue to spread.

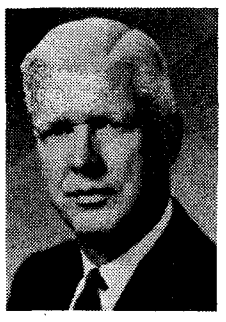
In Meyer's view (and the traditional view of America's founders) the purpose of government is to maintain an arena of order within which men may go freely about their business. To this end, government should provide for the national defense, suppress domestic outbreaks of crime, provide for the administration of justice. It should not try to run people's lives for them or attempt to legislate them into a secular utopia.

Liberalism has reversed this traditional formula, and would have government do everything it is not supposed to do while neglecting the things it should do. The collectivist planners would gladly decide for us what we shall eat for breakfast. But they will not deign to protect us from desperadoes and hoodlums who would rob us of our possessions and of life itself.

Both kinds of error, on Meyer's presentation, are anti-freedom: The collectivism because it seeks to force people into conformity with the abstract schemes of the planners; the default of the order-keeping function because it exposes American citizens to the danger of attack from enemies abroad and the depredations of criminals at home. Inversion of the rightful tasks of government involves a two-fold disservice to liberty.

It is this understanding that the problem is total—that it is not simply a matter of free enterprise *or* anti-communism *or* "law and order," but all of these things and many more, simultaneously—which makes Meyer's argument so impressive. He demonstrates that the conservative desire for virtue and order on the one hand, and for freedom and the proper limitation of government on the other, are not contradictories but different aspects of the same position.

On all levels, from the deeply philosophical to the immediately political, *The Conservative Mainstream* is excellent reading. Liberals and conservatives alike can derive from it a clearer understanding of the conservative position and its vital importance to the cause of freedom.



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Nixonites and the Hickel Disease

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Sargent Shriver, warlord of the original "War on Poverty," could well have said, "After me, the Liquidation." That is what has happened. The Job Corps is going to the Labor Department, the Headstart program to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and what remains is largely the Community Action programs.

Now comes Congressman Donald Rumsfeld (R.-Ill.) to take over as Mr. Nixon's director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the choice has been universally applauded in Washington.

Mr. Rumsfeld is a young-looking 36, very low-keyed, very highly regarded by all. And yet in his appearance before the confirming committee, Labor and Public Welfare, Rumsfeld impressed at least one reporter as having a certain weakness which has sporadically shown up in this Administration's appointments. That weakness may be called the Hickel Disease.

Walter Hickel, of Alaska, named secretary of interior, came in as a Western governor and self-made businessman, but by the time Democratic senators got finished working him over, Mr. Hickel had just about gone over to the opposition.

He was so mauled by the bees-and-butterflies conservationists that he talked like a gamekeeper instead of a developer of natural resources. Hickel was so eager to please the majority party that his future usefulness to the President became and remains doubtful. The Democrats, having beaten him into shape, decided to confirm him as one of their own.

There were just enough symptoms of the Hickel Disease in Donald Rumsfeld to cause concern. He was much too wordy to be impressive, much too cautious to show strength, much too unresponsive to the questioning to show what his convictions were.

One conviction, at least, he had already abandoned. In 1964 he voted against the creation of the OEO, and in 1969 he was accepting appointment as its director. He explained this briefly, but not explicitly. Apparently, in '64 he was for a GOP-type anti-poverty program. By '67, however, he was going along with Shriver's war plans.

Director Rumsfeld didn't seem to mind losing the Job Corps and Headstart from his empire. He said he was going to keep in touch with their progress under Secretaries Shultz and Finch. But it is virtually impossible for a man with Cabinet rank, as Rumsfeld will be given, to wear a hat-and-a-half unless he is going to be a meddler in other men's departments. The Democrats on the committee appeared rather satisfied with this prospect. It seemed to tell them that, with Rumsfeld in there, they might own a piece of the action.

This small trace of the Hickel Disease kept enlarging in Rumsfeld under the questioning of Sen. Ted Kennedy. The nominee was much too anxious to please the Massachusetts senator who, in turn, is not a bit anxious for President Nixon to finish a strong first term.

In his prepared statement Rumsfeld talked a great deal about the "innovative role" of OEO, but gave no hint of what experiments he had in mind. This left him so flexible that nobody could find fault and yet nobody could envision what sort of plans he had to lift 22 million poor, 40 per cent of them children under 16, out of the demeaning rut.

Rumsfeld is taking on a post which, under Shriver, very strongly reflected the ideas of the New Frontier and Great Society. That welfaristic ideology contended that the commodities which make for prosperity—money, food, housing, clothing, medical care, education—can be legislatively transferred from one group of Americans to another.

Theoretically, the poor can be rendered non-poor, but this theory has a missing link—it ignores the human equation. Shriver learned the Ghetto Rule: It's more blessed for the government to give than for the poor intelligently to receive.

Maybe Rumsfeld will prove smarter than Shriver, but at this hearing he didn't seem to be stronger. A curbstone opinion would be that Rumsfeld should dose himself up on nerve tonic as a cure for the Hickel Disease.

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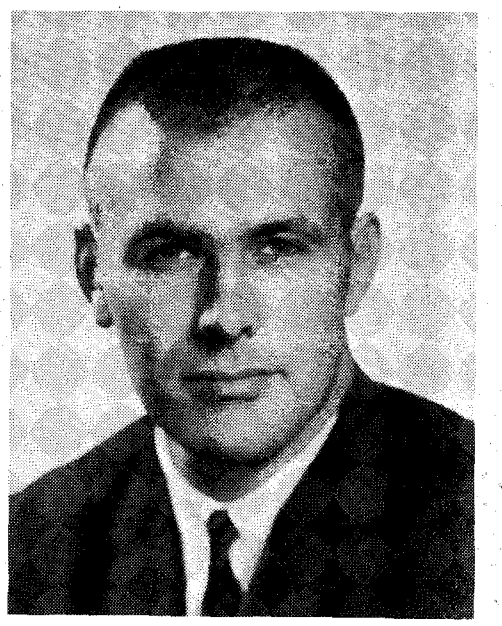
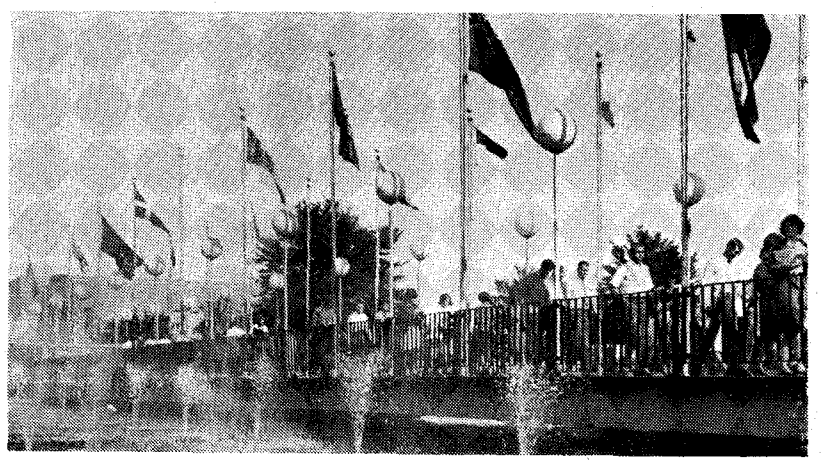
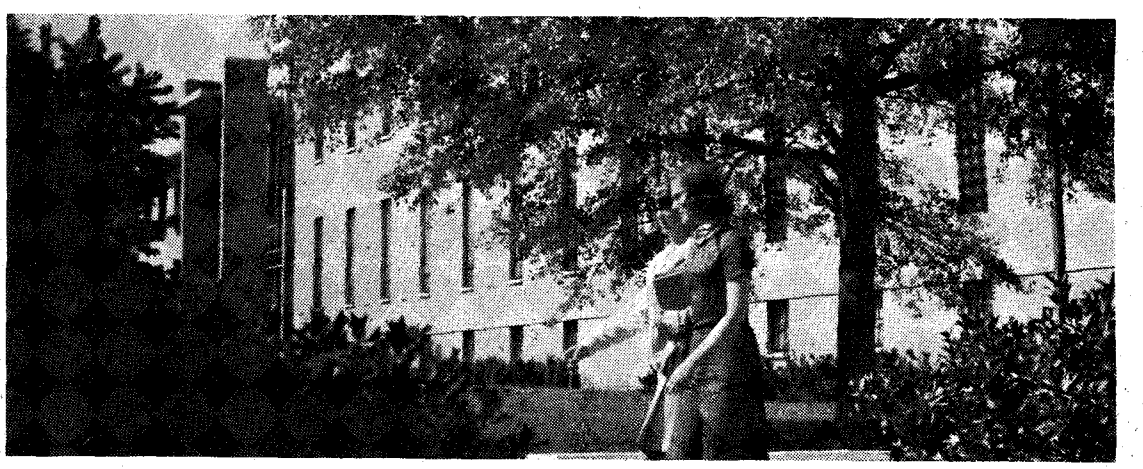


Like Interior Secretary Walter Hickel (left) before him, new OEO Director Don Rumsfeld faces close scrutiny from nitpicking critics. Will he mold his ideas to please them?





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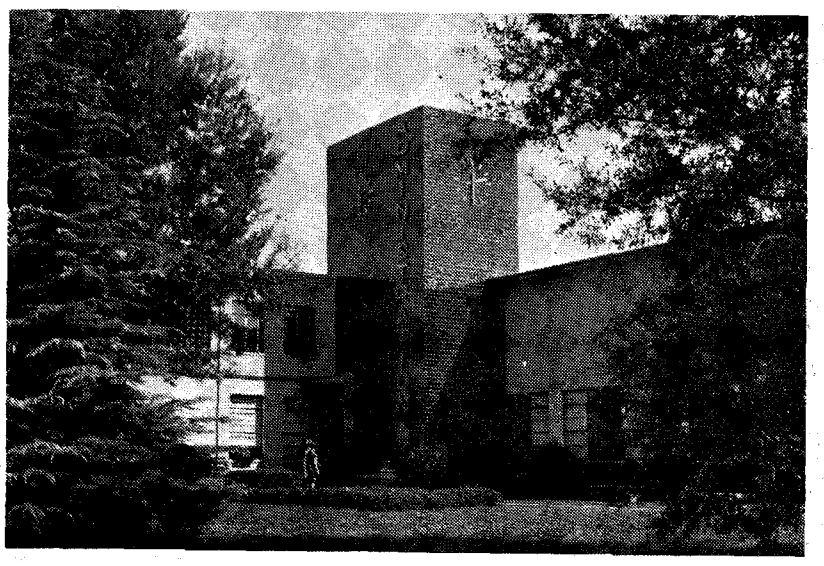

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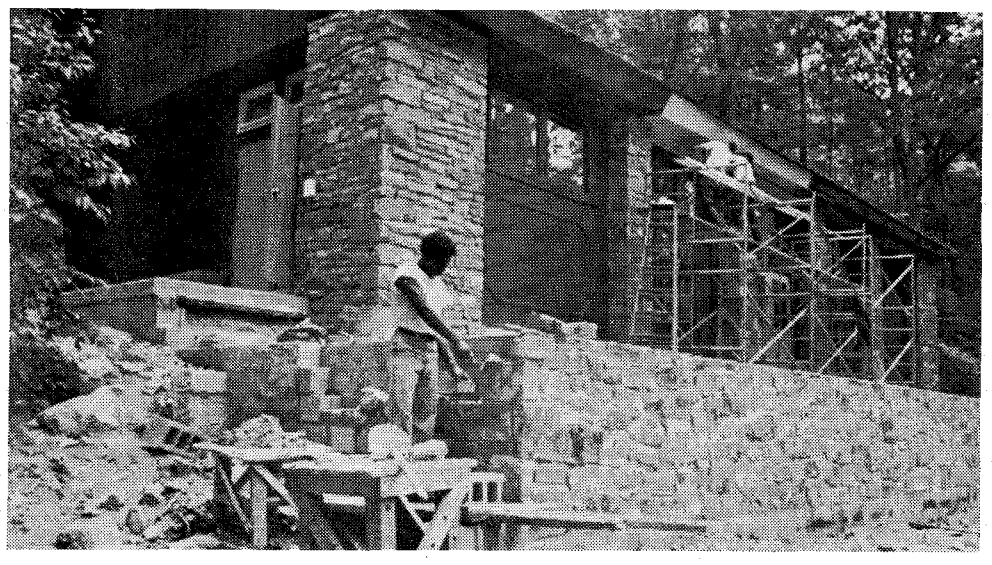
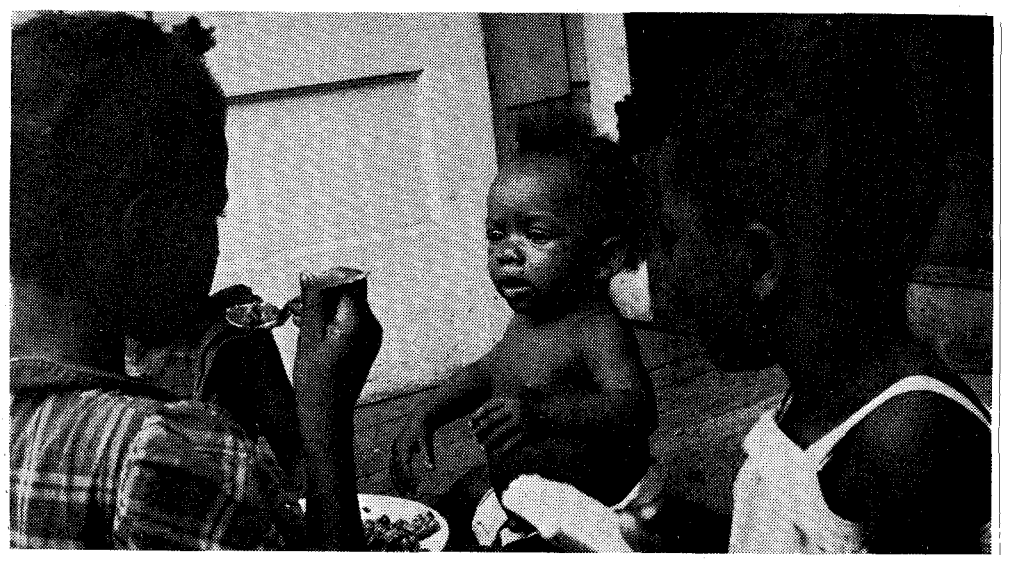


A Job Corpsman hurries to finish a project at a Thurmont, Md., camp slated to be closed by the Nixon Administration. Nonetheless, OEO propaganda, paid for by taxpayers, continues to harp upon the need for the wasteful programs.



Poverty in America has been a favorite discovery of liberals for the past several years and the Agriculture Department is all too happy to highlight the misfortunes of others in order to perpetuate its own bureaucracy.

Your Master's Voice

'Public Service' Broadcasting Has Become a Propaganda Machine

By SHIRLEY SCHEIBLA

Reprinted with permission from *Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly*, May 19, 1969

In carrying out plans to close 59 Job Corps centers, President Nixon may find his task made harder by radio and color television spot announcements which the Office of Economic Opportunity recently sent to stations throughout the country.

In a staff memorandum dated February 14, OEO said: "Three new Job Corps TV spots, with the theme of 'Give Yourself a Chance,' have been distributed to all TV stations and will be shown in addition to those currently used. Additional radio spots have also been distributed." (While the Labor Department, slated to take over the Job Corps, persuaded OEO to withdraw plans to advertise the Job Corps on the side panels of every mail truck in the country, it failed to talk OEO into killing the radio-TV spots.)

A few years ago federal production of TV and radio material to propagandize highly controversial programs was most unusual. Today it's the rule rather than the exception for most government agencies engaged in social endeavors nor are their efforts confined to spots.

On the contrary, today they turn out vast quantities of long and short TV films, video tape and radio productions and scripts. They're doing it on their own; through donated professional services; and under contract with private companies and non-profit institutions like universities. Some agencies even have a "Spotmaster" which enables stations to broadcast recordings directly from a phone after dialing the right number.

Nobody knows how much money the government spends on such activities, or even the approximate value of the gratis services. Nobody even knows how much Uncle Sam spends for public relations; most agencies take such disbursements out of their administrative budgets. However, one independent producer of TV films for the government estimates that expenditures for that item alone run into hundreds of millions of dollars. (He likes the work because it doesn't involve competitive bidding.)

Nobody at the top in government studies the radio and TV messages being disseminated. Herbert Klein, communications director for President Nixon, doesn't have the time. Small wonder. The Agriculture Department alone has 300 different films available for television, not counting about 350 spots, plus radio material.

The uncontrolled avalanche of federal propaganda gets a great reception from radio and television. Broadcasters apparently are delighted to receive free material of commercial quality. Moreover, it is one way to comply with the requirement of the Federal Communications Commission to devote some of their time to "public service"; all federal productions for the airwaves are lumped into the "public service" category. But they're beginning to look less like a public service and more like a propaganda monster.

President Nixon may find himself in opposition to federal radio-TV material in other realms as well. As he tries to "bring us together" and still the voices of racial turmoil, he will be running into a TV spot distributed by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), which says, in part, "If you're black, you've got to be famous to live where you want. You call up; the agent has a house. Show your face; it vanishes."

While Mr. Nixon is trying to bring OEO's community action under control, a HUD radio spot is urging listeners to "organize community action groups." (A 14-minute Interior Department TV movie suggests community action to remedy a water shortage.)

Although the chief executive's advisers are pondering the problem of too many requests for HUD money, the agency's TV and radio spots tell people to send for a booklet, "Better Communities," which urges readers to apply for nine different kinds of grants from HUD.

Communications Director Klein says he would like to inspire a new pride in America. But here's what the booklet says: "Today America's urban communities are at a juncture. Their sidewalks are unsafe, streets jammed with traffic and air polluted. Their office and apartment buildings are too often uniformly drab and unoriginal in design. Their cores are ridden with slums, junkyards and neon forests. Their splayed, amorphous suburbs are rapidly becoming unsightly and unlivable. Whether they will continue to deteriorate or will be revitalized and rebuilt is in question."

The answer, says the booklet, is that everyone "must be made aware of the abundant opportunities available to them for bettering their communities; i.e., money from HUD. Proudly HUD reports it has had 1,500 requests for the booklet directly attributable to the spots.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is another agency which appears to be using spots to solicit more business than it can handle. Despite its admitted inability to deal with the huge volume of complaints it has on hand, EEOC has a radio spot which says, in part, "Do you need a job? If so, go to your United States Employment Service or visit a private employment agency.

"If you hear of a job that you can do and you would like to have, go today and apply for it . . . .If you are turned down because somebody thinks you are the wrong color or the wrong race or the wrong sex or religion or national origin, that somebody is breaking the law—and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission wants to hear about it."

The Agriculture Department's huge roster of TV movies and radio material promotes virtually every controversial activity within its jurisdiction, including farm and electric cooperatives. A film now in preparation will tout the federal meat and poultry inspection service which recently has been criticized for issuing biased reports on conditions in the meat-packing industry.

Back in 1965, when President Johnson was struggling to win support for the "War on Poverty," the department produced a 28½-minute film titled, "Poverty in Rural America." It remains in circulation for TV use. According to the department's catalog: "This film takes you where the 'Hidden Americans' live—into the mountain hollows, to the end of the rutted dirt roads, and into the bypassed communities."

This is a long way, of course, from Smokey the Bear, who now is revered as the grandfather of the mushrooming federal broadcasting ventures. The department still is promoting its fire-fighting bear and features him on about 95 commercially produced TV spots.

They are the only films which the agency doesn't turn out in its own studio in its sprawling South Building. During fiscal 1968 the studio made 87 TV films for the department, compared with 94 in 1967. "But owing to a sharp increase in the requirement for longer films," it explains, "the level of activity in terms of finished screen minutes held essentially constant."

Here is what the department reports on its growing radio activities: " 'Agri-Tape,' a weekly tape recorded program, went to 427 radio stations, exceeding what was thought a year earlier was near production capacity (400) for regular handling with existing facilities. 'Agriculture USA,' another weekly taped program, grew from 220 regularly using stations to 236. The daily radio featurettes, 'Consumer Time,' issued on a weekly reel of six programs (three and a half minutes), continues serving 325 to 350 radio stations."

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) is so deep in dramatic productions for the airwaves that it employs a former theatrical agent—Harry C. Bell—as its radio-TV officer. Among the department's recent TV films are two running a half-hour each, called "Beware the Wind" and "Battle Below the Clouds." Dealing with air pollution, both are distributed under the auspices of HEW's Consumer Protection and Environmental Health Service.

A 15-minute weekly show by HEW's Social Security Administration is carried by 743 TV stations and 3,698 radio stations. A five-minute weekly show, recorded for Social Security by singer Eddy Arnold, is aired by 2,000 radio stations a week. In additon, Social Security reports that during the final quarter of last year, 185 TV stations used its live programs; 91, its long films and 703, spots.

"Three years ago," says Mr. Bell, "we were producing virtually no TV spots; now we have them out on anti-smoking, air pollution, drug abuse, rehabilitation, the Teacher Corps, financial aid to students and Social Security."

With over 1,000 community action centers scattered all over the country, OEO is in a unique position to exploit radio and TV as a propaganda tool. It is urging every center to literally get into the act. Volume II of an OEO Public Affairs Handbook called "Sound and Sight" tells how to do it.

"Under terms of their licensing by the Federal Communications Commission, TV and radio stations must devote a certain amount of broadcast time to public service" and "your Community Action Program fits the definition of a public interest program," the booklet advises.

But wangling free spot announcements and guest appearances on existing programs is "only scratching the surface," according to the booklet. Send news

Continued on page 13

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The 'Rebel' Church in Latin America

By PAUL BETHEL

One of the most alarming and perplexing threats to law and order in Latin America is the "radicalized" Catholic Church, working, in many instances, hand-in-glove with the Communists.

This phenomenon was underscored last December 13 when Brazil's President Arthur da Costa e Silva suspended Congress and said of certain elements in the Church: "We see a contradiction, an aberration, when we see priests supporting communism, a doctrine that is dedicated to the persecution and eradication of religion." Of the Communist menace he remarked: "Through infiltration of our homes, schools, universities, the clergy and even military organizations, communism is developing a revolutionary war in this country by undermining our institutions and taking power by force of arms."

Brazil, whose 68 million Catholic communicants make it the nation with the greatest number of Roman Catholics in the world, is a major target of the Communists. Thus it was no surprise when the police captured a Communist document with plans to "enlist the support of the progressive wing of the Church through firm and secret pacts."

Execution of the plan has been so successful that the Brazilian Communist party is able to boast that clerical authorities in Guanabara state "now lend us their official support and approval." Led by Archbishop Dom Helder Camara, the radical wing of Brazil's Church charges the Costa e Silva administration and "imperialism" for many of the growing pains of their developing giant of a country.

When police cleared a group attacking the U.S. Embassy last fall (said by Rio de Janeiro's governor to consist of about "800 professional agitators intermixed with students"), some 150 priests picketed the Ministry of Education. They claimed that "unwarranted police action" triggered the student attack on the embassy, not the reverse, and denied that professionals had directed the assault.

United Press International, however, reported: "It was obvious that Brazilians who were not students participated in the rioting." Francis B. Kent of the Los Angeles *Times* wrote of the rioters: "That they have been joined by subversive activists is obvious."

Just prior to the suspension of constitutional guarantees last December, the government dropped a bombshell with the announcement that three French priests (half of Belo Horizonte's 600 priests are foreigners) were caught red-handed at subversion. Father Xavier Bertoux was accused of using the Church of Good Jesus as a training center for Brazilian "Red Guards"; Father Herve Coongaunec was found to have formed a Viet Nam-type "National Liberation Front"; Father Michael Leveen was charged with organizing bands of guerrillas and of undercutting the government's anti-inflation program by lecturing the workers to resist it.

There is abundant evidence that many priests, missionaries and lay clergy leading the Church "revolt" are trained to do so before being posted in Latin America.

Chile has deported a number of foreign priests—Belgians, Argentines and French. Only recently, Colombia deported Spanish priest Domingo Lain for subversion. Other "rebel" priests include Puerto Rico's Bishop Antulio Parrilla, Panama's Father Carlos Perez Herrera, Colombia's Father German Guzman Campos.

A major training center was turned up in Cuernavaca, Mexico. Called the Center for Inter-Cultural Documentation and run by a New York priest by the name of Ivan Illich, the institution has been in operation since 1961. Its mission is to teach Catholic priests and missionaries the language and culture of the region to which they are to be assigned. However, the Center published treatises by Communists and leftists which urge the cooperation of Communists and Catholics in political and social matters.

Monsignor Illich refused to comply with two orders transferring him back to the Archdiocese of New York, declined to take the oath of secrecy when the Vatican conducted an investigation into the activities of the Center and remained silent when asked for his views regarding Communist-Catholic collaboration. The Catholic priest was also reported to have been in contact with Castro agents operating out of the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City. The Vatican has withdrawn its support from the Center.

Most countries are discovering that the road to the source of their religious problems wends its way to Havana and from there to Moscow.

Last year, Fidel Castro hosted a so-called cultural conference in which penetration of the Church appeared high on the agenda. He presented a paper allegedly written by a group of "rebel" priests from the United States and Latin America which, like the Communist plan discovered in Brazil, called for penetration of the Church.

"In spite of the differing views between Christianity and Marxism," the paper said, "Marxism has proven that it provides the stimulus for revolutionary action of the masses." Castro endorsed the paper, saying: "It demonstrates how revolutionary ideas spread . . . they grow and reach into religious sectors and produce revolutionary fighters."

One such "revolutionary fighter" was a Colombian, Father Camilo Torres. He joined Castroite guerrilla chief Fabio Vasquez in the mountains and was killed, rifle in hand, when his guerrilla unit ambushed an army patrol. Today, Torres occupies a top spot in the ranks of those martyrized by the Communists, second only to "Che" Guevara.

Brazilian President Arthur da Costa e Silva has cracked down on dissenting clergy.

Brazil has the largest Roman Catholic population in the world and the Communists are losing no time to use the church here as well as in other countries to further their aims. Above, Rio de Janeiro.

Following Havana's cultural conference, religious disturbances broke out in Chile. In Santiago, 150 laymen, led by nine priests and three nuns, captured the city's cathedral in which they described their actions as a "peoples' struggle." A manifesto issued by them stated: "We are devoted to the peoples' struggle for liberation" and praised the memory of Camilo Torres.

The seizure of the cathedral was carried out with military precision from plans laid weeks in advance. Every detail of the cathedral was studied while 20 advance agents were placed in the church where they hid in confessionals and amid the ornate statuary. At dawn last August 11, the agents opened the doors and let other conspirators in. Each had a job, from silencing the cathedral's great bell to controlling the access points. The operation was coordinated through the use of walkie-talkies.

The action of Chile's laymen and priests recalls an article published in the May 1966 issue of *World Marxist Review*. The author, Orlando Millas, wrote that "joint action of the Communists and Catholics and the participation of Catholics in political movements, such as in Chile where the Christian Democrats are in power, provide a unique opportunity to undermine authority."

This statement, like another published in the June 1965 *World Marxist Review*, points up how the Communists expect to take advantage of what basically are anti-capitalist political movements by infiltrating and weakening their religious base. The author of the 1965 article stated that a union of Catholics and Communists "not only is possible, but urgently necessary."

That same year, 1965, two of Chile's top Christian Democrat theoreticians, J. Silva and Jacques Chonchol (see *Human Events*, Dec. 14, 1968) wrote: "We have a good opinion of Marxism" and praised it for having "pointed out in the clearest terms the basic truths regarding economy, the existence of classes [class struggle] and the development of society." The legitimacy of the Communists to participate in Christian Democratic thought in Chile was thus recognized. And with Catholicism the avowed spiritual base of rank-and-file Christian Democrats, it was inevitable that inroads have been made into Chile's Church, and wherever else similar thoughts obtain.

In Bogota, Colombia, Communist leader German Zabala made common cause with "rebel" priest Rene Garcia to the end that "Marxist methodology" was incorporated into the curriculum of the Catholic Marymount school. *El Tiempo* newspaper published the story and a meeting of outraged parents of school children immediately followed.

An investigation turned up evidence that six nuns (plus an American woman identified as Carrol O'Flynn), the Mother Superior and her aide were found to be in contact with Communist Zabala and collaborated with him in introducing Red rhetoric into the educational courses—implicit attacks on capitalism and references to "imperialism" as a synonym for the United States. Miss O'Flynn was said by Colombia's secret police chief, Luis Etilio Leyva, to have been directly connected with expelled priest Domingo Lain and with the rebel sector of Colombia's clergy. Her work contract was cancelled.

Colombia's President Carlos Lleras Restrepo followed by warning priests that "their condition as priests does not give them license to preach subversion, and the law will be firmly and fully enforced against them." The situation was considered serious enough by the president to take to television in a nationwide address. The government also revealed at the same time that scores of priests have been urging their parishioners to resort to violence to accomplish economic and social changes which they espouse. One group of 50 priests boldly demanded "a Socialist Colombia."

What lies at the bottom of Church problems in Latin America is a series of apparently innocent decisions emanating from the Vatican.

No less a personage than Pope John XXIII affirmed that "meetings between believers and non-believers" provided the means by which "truth may be discovered and followed." Pope Paul VI endorsed the idea of dialogue. The Communists and leftist elements in the Church have since seized upon the ecumenical decision as a means of bringing together two diametrically opposed views of man. As a result, several important meetings have taken place between Catholics and Communists as, for example, the one held in Marien-

Continued on next page

Mr. Bethel is executive director of the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba and editor of the authoritative "Latin America Report." A former member of the U.S. foreign service, he has kept up his many contacts in the Latin American diplomatic corps.

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(*Continued from preceding page*)

bad, Czechoslovakia, last year.

On the religious side, the participants approach the discussion in a Christian manner. But the Communists do not reciprocate by making a case of their own. Their purpose is not to gain popularity for themselves, but to exacerbate or create anti-West, anti-capitalist sentiments among those sitting across the table from them. As a result, it is the West, its system and policies that are always the subject of discussion and probe, not Communist aggression or the brutality of the Communist system itself.

It follows from this that Brazil's Archbishop Camara should blame the capitalist system for pockets of poverty, while at the same time remaining silent regarding the misery and poverty that characterize the spiritually barren Communist system.

He ducks this issue, as he did in an April 16 speech in Sańtiago, Chile, by saying that the "social problem in America is less a matter of capitalism vs. socialism" than it is "between North America and South America, which is to say between rich nations and poor nations." He thus placed the issue squarely as a rich United States vs. a poor Latin America. Moreover, he said that "I respect the memory of Camilo Torres, as I respect all those who join the guerrillas" involved in "bringing social justice to our hemisphere." Quite a statement.

Having taken this step, it was predictable that the Archbishop should take another—a slashing attack on the United States. Speaking before a group at Catholic University in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, the prelate said: "The moment that a struggle for real liberty starts in Brazil, it would be smashed by U.S. troops who do not want to see another Cuba in Latin America and would turn our country into another Viet Nam."

The Communist influence behind this well-worn phrase is traceable to none other than "Che" Guevara who called for "one, two, or more Viet Nams" in Latin America. But in the intellectual atmosphere of the "dialogue" these attacks from the Church seem as logical in their interpretation as they appear just in their application.

In their efforts to capture the Church, the Communists are trying to destroy the concept of separation of Church and State. They are, instead, working toward re-establishing the union of Church and State, the easier to penetrate and destroy both.

Pope Paul VI, recognizing the danger facing the Church, has struck out against "rebel priests" in Latin America. Last March he attacked what he called the "theology of revolution and violence" and implied that some renegade leaders were trying to place the Church on the side of revolutionary movements in a purely opportunistic maneuver.

In Brazil the sincerity of Archbishop Helder Camara's attacks on the capitalist system is being increasingly questioned. The government has been asked by a number of writers and civic leaders to bring the matter of "Communist-Nationalist" sentiments espoused by Camara to the attention of the Vatican, pointing out that if the Archbishop were really concerned about the poor, he should take note of the strides made by the government since 1964.

Although Pope Paul VI has spearheaded some of the liberalization of the Roman Catholic Church, he has spoken out strongly against many of the rebel priests.

Those strides include cutting Brazil's annual rate of inflation from 140 per cent to approximately 25 per cent and increasing its annual economic growth from 1.5 per cent to more than 7 per cent. Annual exports have increased by nearly $1 billion over 1964 and the World Bank has found Brazil sound enough economically to advance significant loans. In view of this record, the suspicion is growing that Archbishop Camara is not pro-poor so much as he is just plain anti-capitalist.

In November 1968, *L'Osservatore Romano*, official voice of the Vatican, got to the heart of the Vatican's problems, saying that although the Church does favor dialogue between believers and non-believers, this does not apply to non-believers (Communists) whose purpose is to destroy the Christian faith. And on January 16 Pope Paul said that "modern man [Castro's "new man?"] had a mania to subvert everything in the blind belief that it would inevitably lead to a new order." Moreover, the Pope specifically rejected the idea of political collaboration between Catholics and Italy's Communist party, a decision that is expected to have an impact in Latin America.

What is at stake in the Church conflict in Latin America is this: Was Christ just a guerrilla activist, motivated by hatred of the "system" of His times? Or was He the spiritual redeemer Christians have traditionally viewed Him as?

□□□

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Supreme Court Challenged on Security Ruling

From the Chicago *Tribune*

The Defense Department has challenged the Supreme Court ruling of 1967 that members of Communist-action groups may not be denied security clearance to work in defense plants. The department appeal board has overruled a trial examiner who held that a former Communist who admitted party associations over a period of 17 years was entitled to security clearance.

The board ruled that the ex-Communist, Newell Johnson of New York, should be denied clearance for "any level of classified defense work." James A. Cronin Jr., department counsel, argued there was "difficulty in separating the lambs from the wolves masquerading in lamb's clothing" and that therefore a policy should be adopted "barring all persons who are or have been active members of the Communist party from access to classified information."

The decision puts the department on a collision course with the Supreme Court in its 1967 ruling that Eugene Robel, member of a Communist-action group, could not be prosecuted for working in a war defense industry, even though an act of Congress specifically prohibits such employment under penalty of a prison sentence. Chief Justice Warren held that Robel might not have agreed with the Communist conspiracy of which he was willingly a member.

Commenting on this reasoning, Justice Michael A. Musmanno of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania observed, "That is like saying that a wolf, devouring the flesh of a sheep dragged to its lair by his fellow wolves, might not have approved of the method by which his brother wolves got his dinner for him.

"Then, seeking another reason to support his decision, Chief Justice Warren said Robel might not have known of the criminal objectives of the Communist party. That would be to say that either Robel was a moron or that our whole educational system has broken down, because nothing is better known than the intent of the Communists to overthrow our government by force and violence.

"According to Chief Justice Warren's reasoning in this case, the member of a Communist-action group cannot be kept off an American warship unless he openly brandishes the auger with which he intends to sink the ship."

Justice Musmanno further recited that Warren kept insisting that Robel was entitled to associate with Communist conspirators because he is guaranteed the right of association by the 1st Amendment to the Constitution. "The 1st Amendment," Musmanno dryly observed, "does not mention the right of association—nor does any other amendment."

The Pennsylvania justice's metaphor of the auger on shipboard was well taken, for the Supreme Court followed up the Robel decision by holding that another petitioner who admitted past membership in the Communist party could not be kept out of the Merchant Marine.

Again, Congress, in the Magnuson Act, authorized the President to keep subversives out of the Merchant Marine to minimize the chances of sabotage or other destructive works. The court did not strike down the Magnuson Act, but held that the regulations to enforce the law through the Coast Guard exceeded the authority provided by the act.

The decision contended that the language used by Congress "referred to actions, not to ideas or belief." That is consistent with other edicts of the court that it is not of itself sufficient to judge that a Communist meditates mischief, but that it must be proved he is moving into action.

It is high time that somebody challenged this reverse logic, and we are glad that the Defense Department has done so.

Is 'Age of Inflation' Coming to an End?

By HENRY HAZLITT

An attempted forecast of the outlook for inflation at this time is likely to come to a split conclusion. The immediate prospect is that the pace of inflation will be slowed down. The long-term prospect is that the pace of inflation will increase again.

The direct cause of inflation, always and everywhere, is an increase in the supply of money and credit. In recent months this has been slowed down considerably. In the two years 1967 and 1968, the annual rate of increase in the stock of money (currency in the hands of the public plus demand bank deposits) was 6.8 per cent. But in the first three months of this year the annual rate of increase was reduced to 2.3 per cent.

The Federal Reserve has clearly been tightening up on money and credit. As of April 7 the cost of day-to-day loans soared to 9.5 per cent, the highest since 1929.

The net borrowed reserves, in the week ended May 7, of commercial banks belonging to the Federal Reserve System jumped to $1.2 billion, the highest on record. In addition, the Nixon Administration seems determined to balance the budget and achieve a surplus for the new fiscal year beginning July 1. These policies in combination are bound to slow down the inflation.

But suppose this leads, as is not unlikely, to a fall in the stock market, to a slowdown in demand for durable goods and to a rise in unemployment? Will the Federal Reserve lose its nerve, as it always has in the past, and start following policies once more to encourage a fast increase in the money supply?

Let's not forget its long-term record. In the last 30 years the cost of living has gone up by 160 per cent. This means that the 1969 dollar has a purchasing power today of 39 cents compared with the 1939 dollar. And the dollar has been cheapened in that period by a tremendous increase, encouraged by Federal Reserve policy, in the output of dollars.

In 1939 demand bank deposits plus currency in the hands of the public amounted to $36 billion. Today this figure is $196 billion, an increase of 444 per cent. If we include time deposits in the total money stock, the rise has been from a 1939 total to $36 billion. Today this figure is $196 billion, an increase of 444 per cent. If we include time deposits in the total money stock, the rise has been from a 1939 total of $45 billion to a present total of $397 billion, an increase of 782 per cent.

It is not only the Federal Reserve authorities but the Nixon Administration that may lose its nerve if the inflation slowdown shows signs of bringing a recession. Even today the President is planning a budget balance, chiefly by increasing tax revenues rather than by cutting expenditures. Planned expenditures will reach a new high record. So far from having the courage to cut welfare spending significantly, the President has just proposed a new $1-billion-a-year drive "to fight hunger."

What about the budgets of 1971, 1972 and 1973? "Fiscal responsibility" is today officially interpreted to mean raising taxes still further, never cutting expenditures. Such tax increases as the repeal of the 7 per cent investment tax credit and imposing more drastic levies on "capital gains" can only have the long-run effect of discouraging capital investment and slowing down the growth of national productivity.

We will never halt inflation so long as we continue to operate on the assumptions of the welfare state.

In addition, the present International Monetary Fund system imposes on individual countries none of the anti-inflationary disciplines of the old gold standard. It ties all currencies together at pegged rates. This forces the strong currencies to support the weak. It forces countries to import each other's inflation. The system leads to periodic devaluations, and the devaluation of one currency creates pressure for the devaluation of others.

Neither in the United States nor in the world at large is there any evidence that the Age of Inflation is over.

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Repeal of Tax Exemption Sought

Unions Use Compulsory Dues for Political Purposes

By REED LARSON

Congress should halt widespread abuses of present tax laws by denying tax exemptions to labor unions which use compulsory dues for political purposes. It will thereby close a tax loophole of gigantic proportions. Exploitation of this loophole, in effect, compels all of the nation's taxpayers to subsidize the massive political programs promoted by union officials.

Today officials of many labor unions which have been granted tax exemptions by the federal government are brazenly violating the political freedom of conscripted members—and also flouting recent decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court—by spending mandatory dues for political purposes.

Union spokesmen would have every one believe that their political action is supported entirely by "voluntary" contributions. This fallacy is refuted by an abundance of evidence on the public record. It was most convincingly exploded by a group of Georgia employes who successfully waged a legal fight to prevent the use of their compulsory dues for political purposes.

In this particular case—*International Association of Machinists, et al. vs. Street, et al.,* 367 U.S. 740 (1961)—officials of 15 defendant unions admitted using union dues "to support ideological and political doctrines and candidates which plaintiffs. . .were, are and will be opposed to and not willing to support voluntarily."

The lawsuit was filed in 1953. In 1958 the Georgia trial court invalidated the compulsory "union shop" agreement between the unions and several companies. Its decision was later upheld by the Georgia Supreme Court, but an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court by the defendant unions prolonged the battle.

The nation's highest court, evading the constitutional issues raised by this litigation, simply ruled in 1961 that dues paid to labor organizations cannot legally be used for political purposes over the objections of dues-payers. It ordered the trial court to resolve the controversy in a manner which would safeguard the workers' political freedom and also preserve the compulsory "union shop" agreements.

Ultimately officials of the unions were instructed to produce their financial records so that an auditor appointed by the trial court could determine what percentage of the dues they collected had been diverted into political channels.

The court order required the union officials to either permit examination of their books or exempt the protesting workers from the compulsory "union shop" provisions and also refund to them the money they had been compelled to pay in the form of dues, fees and assessments.

Finally, in February 1965 officials of the defendant unions chose the second alternative. They thereby prevented the court from learning exactly how much money they had invested in blatant politicking.

The *Street* case proved conclusively that union political action is *not* financed entirely by "voluntary" contributions. This litigation provided relief for only a tiny fraction of the wage-earners across the country whose money is fueling the unions' political machines. And it underscored the prohibitive cost of restraining those union officals who are preoccupied with political matters.

Unfortunately, the remedy prescribed by the Supreme Court is meaningless and impractical because it places relief beyond the reach of aggrieved employes. The court's remedy entails costly litigation and pits employes with modest incomes against union officials who control overflowing treasuries. The fact that "justice delayed is justice denied" was underscored by the *Street* case, which the courts required 12 years to resolve.

Justice Hugo Black dissented from the Supreme Court's 1961 decision in the *Street* case. He objected strenuously to the refusal of the High Court's majority to face up to obvious constitutional questions. He wrote, in part:

"The stark fact is that this Act of Congress [the National Railway Labor Act] is being used as a means to exact money from these employes to help get votes to win elections for parties and candidates and to support doctrine they are against. If this is constitutional, the 1st Amendment is not the charter of political and religious liberty its sponsors believed it to be."

Although this cited case involved compulsory "union shop" agreements under the National Railway Labor Act, the very same constitutional problems are created by compulsory "union shop" agreements authorized by the National Labor Relations Act.

There can be no valid objection to the political activities of a labor organization which is comprised exclusively of voluntary members. The individual worker can preserve his own political freedom, if he is free to either maintain or withdraw his membership from a union without fear of discharge or other reprisals.

The fact is, however, that a large part of the money used by union officials for political activity is collected from rank-and file employes under compulsory "union shop" arrangements. Consequently, large numbers of workers are required to pay money over to the union against their will with knowledge that it will be used to support candidates and causes which they themselves oppose.

There is the further fact that in spending their members' money in this manner, the union officials are engaging in unlawful activity in direct violation of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act. This act makes it a crime for any union to make any contribution or expenditure in connection with any election to federal office, including President, vice president, senator or representative. It provides for punishment by fine and imprisonment for any union officer responsible for making, and any candidate who receives, any such contribution.

This criminal statute has been on the books since 1947, but no serious effort has been made to enforce it and, as a result, union officials make believe it doesn't exist.

Unions enjoy a tax-exempt status under the Internal Revenue Code, and this alone should disqualify them from engaging in political activities.

Section 501 (c) of the Internal Revenue Code lists various categories of exempt organizations, among which are labor unions, fraternal clubs, chambers of commerce, civic associations, religious, charitable and educational organizations and so on. Of the more than two dozen groups listed, there is only one that can engage in political action without being disqualified for tax exemption, and that group is labor unions.

A chamber of commerce, for example, that spends any part of its funds for political purposes would quickly—and properly—lose its exemption status, and the same would happen to a religious or educational organization, a public welfare organization, a social club or any of the others.

Now, the interesting point is that there is nothing in the statutory language which would authorize this special treatment for unions, nor is there any legislative history to support it. It is purely and simply a position that has been followed by the Internal Revenue Service and officially articulated for the first time in 1966. In other words, this arm of the Treasury Department says, "We will recognize a union as tax-exempt no matter how much of its money it spends for political purposes, and notwithstanding the fact that the Federal Corrupt Practices Act makes such expenditures a federal crime."

The flagrant political activities of tax-exempt labor unions have produced a loud and continuing chorus of objections from the American people. Polls by reputable research firms have consistently shown overwhelming public opposition to the use of union dues for political purposes. Not surprisingly, union politicking is also opposed by a majority of the nation's union members.

This is an abuse which seriously jeopardizes our system of representative government. It dilutes every citizen's political freedom and outrageously violates the basic rights of workers whose money is being misused. It does violence to the "one man, one vote" concept.

In contrast to the favored treatment which it gives labor unions under the Internal Revenue Code, the IRS in 1965 and 1966 subjected the National Right to Work Committee to an exhaustive investigation for the acknowledged purpose of finding non-existent evidence of political spending by our organization. If it had discovered such evidence, the IRS would have justifiably deprived the National Right to Work Committee of its tax-exempt status. However, the IRS obviously is not applying that same standard to labor unions.

Therefore, the National Right to Work Committee respectfully recommends that the Congress amend existing laws to deny tax exemptions to labor organizations which use mandatory dues for political purposes.

Mr. Larson is executive vice president of the National Right to Work Committee. This article is taken from the text of his recent testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee.

'Proletarian Revolutionary Party' Opens U.S. Headquarters

By VICTOR RIESEL

New York:—It was a balmy Saturday afternoon and most of the flower people were up at Central Park—at the Sheep's Meadow burning little things. But down on Fifth Street, in the un-posh section of the psychedelic center known as the East Village, a small band of young American Maoists burned their zeal in a class on Mao's thought according to the original little red book.

They are Maoists in full sense and full emotion and consider themselves and their comrades the vanguard of the struggle for a "Communist America" in full Peking and Albanian fashion. "We openly declare our aim to build a workers' republic—the armed dictatorship of the proletariat—a Communist America."

They are the burgeoning of something new: perhaps a tiny cadre of comrades who soon will sliver into factions; perhaps something new on the violently revolutionary front; perhaps a growing thing such as the SDS and its hardest-hitting faction, the Progressive Labor party bloc which, when reported here four or five years ago, was mocked by the academic world. It mocks no more.

The band of whites and blacks in the bookstore on East Fifth Street is the advance guard of the Proletarian Revolutionary party.

It is opposed to what it calls "revisionism, opportunism and adventurism"—what some of us call the non-directional burning of campuses, buildings, auditoriums and administration headquarters. The Proletarian Revolutionary party wants violence, mistake that not, but it wants it pre-programmed, like urging soldiers and sailors to revolt, turn their guns, desert.

But the party does not spurn allies.

"We recognize the Black Panther party as the proletarian vanguard of Afro-America and the most advanced section of the entire revolutionary struggle in North America," says the party platform.

"We call for the immediate organization of a Workers' Militia to defend militant strikes, to seize food, clothing, shelter and other needs for those cut off from welfare relief, and for the defense of all working-class communities against the reactionary violence of the racist, mad-dog genocidal U.S. capitalists and their running dogs," says the manifesto.

"We call for student self-defense against the police occupation of schools, for the teaching of the true history of the American working class and the history of all oppressed nationalities.

"We oppose drugs, pornography exploitation and all other bourgeois garbage used against the youth in the schools and streets."

The point is to keep the thoughts purely on revolution, with no divergence.

Here there is no disingenuousness.

"The force at the core leading our cause forward," adds the party pronouncement, "is the Chinese Communist party and the Albanian Party of Labor. We hail the victories of the great proletarian Cultural Revolution and defend the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania against the imperialist and revisionist attacks. The Ninth Party Congress of the Communist Party of China opens the way for the building of a new Marxist-Leninist Communist International."

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Continued from Page 8

'Public Service' Broadcasting: A Propaganda Machine?

releases about CAA activities to TV and radio stations and develop with them a public affairs series telling "what the poverty program can do for the community and what the community can do for the poverty program," it urges.

"Know the special prejudices of your audience. . . . In a rural area . . . emphasize the 'individuality' or 'self-help.' . . . In an urban area, where group cooperation is more of a way of life, your program might portray those efforts in which the community joins together toward a special goal," declares the booklet.

With a $100,000 grant from OEO, the Community Action Training Institute of Trenton, N.J., produced a TV show series which recently was nominated for a special citation by the National Academy of Arts and Sciences. Called *Ya Es Tiempo* (It's About Time), the five Spanish-language shows were aired over UHF channel 47 in Newark last August and September. The theme was that it's about time to do something about poverty and that the answers lie in community action.

White House Communications Director Herb Klein wants to install a new pride in America, but OEO film clips are trying to do just the opposite.

CATI reports that over 50 buyers' clubs, block clubs and "other action type" clubs were formed as a direct result of the Spanish-language showings.

On each of the five evenings when the TV programs were shown, 224 Spanish-speaking CATI group leaders conducted training sessions in their homes for 2,300 people in connection with viewing the programs.

Here, in essence, is how CATI describes the show on employment problems:

A man who has worked at a factory for seven years is fired without being told the reason. His union will not help him. When he tells his friends, they are afraid that if they help him, they will be fired. But finally they meet with an employment specialist at a CAA. "He suggests they form a group so they can learn what to do; e.g., how to participate in the union so it's working for their benefit." The specialist also helps the fired worker "get into a training program that will prepare him for a new career."

This is what CATI reported about advance promotion: "The group leader and actor network of local people, assisted by many CAAs, local organizations and churches in New York City and northern New Jersey, distributed more than 3,000 posters and 50,000 throwaway announcements. This neighborhood promotional effort reached 36 Spanish barrios. . . . Channel 47 gave free air time for short promotional spot announcements. . . . An advertisement was placed in the New York *Times* the day of the first telecast."

Currently being aired in Newark—over radio station WNJR—is the Newark Report, produced by the United Community Corp., the top CAA in that city. Started last October, it is a panel discussion show of the programs of the UCC, and WNJR says it is very popular.

According to *The Crusader*, a newspaper published by the UCC, television "can provide a dynamic platform to bring the basic problems of the ghettos more clearly into focus. . . . The poor have come to recognize that their demand for a free and equal access to the mass media is an intrinsic part of their being able to succeed in the struggle for freedom from hunger, from privation, from exclusion."

Down in Williamston, N.C., Martin County Community Action, Inc., puts on a 15-minute radio program twice daily. "An anti-poverty agency is not the easiest thing to sell the public on, but we have been rather successful in our efforts with the affluent as well as the poor," says Harmon St. Clair of MCCA.

OEO itself sends out radio-TV material in addition to that on the Job Corps and urges its local community action groups to help persuade local stations to use it. For instance, OEO recently sent all TV stations half-a-dozen new color spots lauding VISTA.

"The Owl Who Gave a Hoot" is described as an OEO cartoon film which "alerts low-income groups to their rights as consumers, rights being denied them because of malpractice, fraud or their own lack of knowledge."

Mention of the future prospects for the role TV and radio will play in government public relations brings a sparkle to the eyes of many information officers of the aforementioned agencies. They talk of only beginning to exploit the possibilities.

Obviously those who are battling creation of a Public Broadcasting Corp. to forestall federal broadcast propaganda are unaware of what is now going on.

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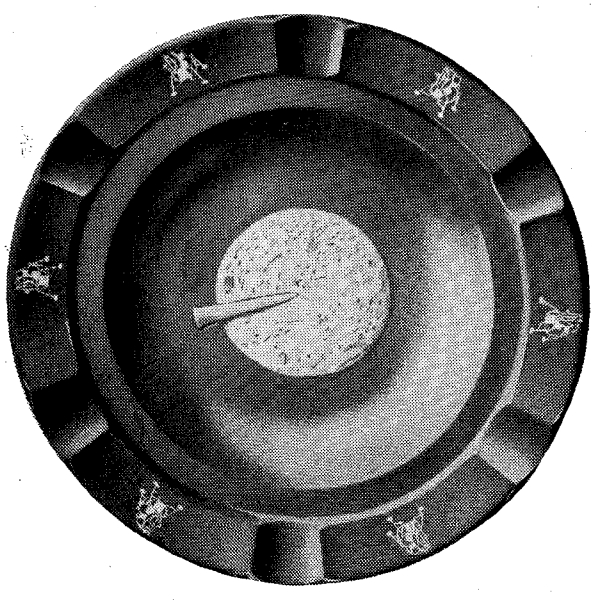

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'Suffer Fools Gladly'

Today Even St. Paul's Patience Would Be Tried

By FREDERIC NELSON

Compliance with St. Paul's suggestion to the Corinthians that they should "suffer fools gladly" becomes daily more difficult as the "issues" call for comment.

Picking the No. 1 Asininity of the Month could tie up a Committee for the Evaluation of Solemn Nonsense for the rest of the semester without reaching a decision. One can perhaps do best by tossing a few selected specimens into the hopper—and you be the judge.

Close to the top surely must be rated a contribution by Bruce Nelson, an American draft-resister self-identified as one "influenced by Karl Marx, Jesus Christ and Herbert Marcuse." He was a member of a peace group which attended a bull session in Moscow with a Russian group described as the Soviet Peace Committee.

As quoted in the New York *Times Magazine* (March 9, 1969), Mr. Nelson asked his Russian opposite numbers if, "as a gesture of solidarity with us," the SPC would call for amnesty for the "Moscow Five, Mrs. Daniel Litvinov and her companions," in jail for dissent. The *Times* account fails to record Mr. Nelson's reaction to Prof. O.S. Kharkhardin's response that he personally regarded the Moscow Five as "idlers and parasites who got less than they deserved."

The author of the report, the Rev. Homer Jack, who was also there, reported that "almost all Russians support their government's action in Czechoslovakia, even the handful of intellectuals around the SPC." Nevertheless, the U.S. visitors thought they detected progress.

So on to a Harris Poll on the question: Is Soviet Russia a "force which can work for peace in the world and with the United States today?" It came out that 66 per cent thought "yes," which Mr. Harris considered remarkable "when compared with the 79 per cent who believe the Russians were guilty of aggression in Czechoslovakia and the 56 per cent who still think it is important for the U.S. to prevent a Communist takeover in Viet Nam."

More remarkable still is Mr. Harris' discovery that "the young and *the better educated* feel most keenly that the two super-powers should find common cause. They also tend to make the sharpest distinction between Russia as a potential force for peace and China as a future threat."

Yes, the College of Your Choice has a lot to answer for. Take a look inside the automobiles decorated with those stylized peace sunflowers, or stickers reading "Boycott Grapes," "ABM Is An Edsel" or "Ted in '72" and it's eight to five the occupant will be an alumnus, or alumna, of some institution of higher learning. A man can be born with a high credulity count, but it takes a college education to make him proud of it.

As to Mr. Harris' dismay-making information, a comment by Dr. Richard Price, an 18th Century British defender of the American Revolution, is interesting: "When Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding was first published in Britian, the persons readiest to attend to it and to receive it were those who had never been trained in colleges and whose minds, therefore, had never been perverted by an instruction in the jargon of the schools."

Viet Nam, peace, the ABM and the College Crunch naturally account for most of the recent top-flight howlers. The campus rebellions, involving professors, inevitably produce more fatuousness than can be credited even to detente, missiles, race or Fortas.

But extra-campus topics haven't done badly. Take, for example, a statement by Sen. Richard Schweiker (R.-Pa.), who isn't stupid but is in the anti camp on the ABM controversy. The senator said, as quoted in the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*: "It's not a question of will it work or won't it work. I'm willing to concede that it will work. The question is whether it's worth it."

The ordinary uninformed citizen would conclude that if the device would work, even partly, it would be worth all its costs, give or take a billion.

However, the senator deserves a better mark for failing to make the usual silly argument that, if we didn't have to spend all this money on defense, we would blow it on more housing projects, integrated school buses, poverty programs and End Hunger campaigns, none of which, I gather, would need defending.

Probably I ought not to include an advertisement by SANE in the New York *Times* (May 11). In fatheadedness SANE is a real pro and is unfairly admitted to amateur competition. Still, the SANE diatribe against ABM is too tempting to ignore. So just this much:

"But what can you expect from the type of mind that got us into Viet Nam in the first place, and that keeps plunging us back in for one-last-victory-try every time it looks as though we might finally extricate ourselves? Mr. Nixon and Secretary Laird and their advisers in the Pentagon seem to have lost touch with reality."

Again the mind totters. Whose "type of mind" was it if not Ike's and Jack Kennedy's that got us into Viet Nam, and what did they have to do with ABM? And who is plunging us back in again in spite of all we can do to be extricated?

Not the Communists, of course! People who think the Communists have any part in delaying peace are in danger of being trapped by what Sen. Jacob Javits of New York called "the old self-delusions, the old phraseology" about Viet Nam. The senator wants President Nixon to make a "major shift" in his policy re the Paris peace talks, thereby, in New York *Times'* indirect discourse, "freeing himself from the Johnson Administration's grievously mistaken concept of what the Viet Nam struggle was all about."

To be sure, the Johnson Administration's concept of what Viet Nam was about was rather clumsily stated and the Javits "major shift" could go off in almost any direction: toward a real, no-bomb-halt-type effort to win, or to a step toward instant surrender. It's safe to book a bet against Sen. Javits favoring the former alternative, although he seems to have coppered most of the alternatives.

As indicated above, it's on the education front that most top-grade inanities are to be found. Like Prof. Kenneth Keniston of Yale, who opined that student imbroglios are "partly a result of the fact that societies like our own are stimulating more individuals to higher levels of moral development."

Also like Prof. Stringfellow Barr, writing in the *Center Magazine*, house organ of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. "In the continuing emergency those administrators have fared best who have courteously discussed 'non-negotiable' demands as if those who make them were both sane and mature."

I was going to say, "Name one, Dr. Barr!" However, just in case, I'll make it "Name three!"

Or like Tom Wicker's piece in the New York *Times* about how the students were way ahead of everybody in getting onto the iniquities of that Ole Debbil Military-Industrial Complex. "That the rest of us are so belatedly asking the same questions," writes Tom, "is one good reason why many students are not much impressed when they are urged by their elders to seek change through 'established procedures' and 'regular channels.'"

Most elders lack the nerve to advise Youth to do anything, except maybe not to burn down the college office with Dean inside. Probably few parents are equiped to cure their offspring of the idea that it's all the Pentagon's fault that the USSR is moving west via Czechoslovakia, south via the Mediterranean and Egypt, and far eastward via Viet Nam.

As Tom Wicker senses current opinion: "Even the apocalyptic vision, dramatically painted by the secretary of defense, of an aggressive Soviet Union seriously building the missile capacity to destroy the United States, fails to still the congressional, press and public outcry against the ABM deployment."

I'll go along with congressional and press outcry, but I'm not too sure of public. After all, in spite of Wicker-hand-picked Youth, a considerable chunk of the public of assorted ages thinks we ought at least to *try* to defend ourselves against Soviet non-apocalyptic, non-visionary, and very serious nuclear preparation.

Therefore, before assuming that all young people, even those in college, are chanting "To the wall, Gramps!" I'd like to see a poll. It might by chance pick up a University of North Dakota student who when asked, prior to the Battle of Zap, what he thought about protests in less tranquil institutions, said: "You see, most of us are here not to change the world but to get a degree and maybe in the process learn something."

Even this realistic boy, seemingly bugged by the suspicion that he ought to feel guilty about being so square, added, "That's a hell of a thing to say, but it's true."

It's also a hell of a thing that a serious-minded student thinks he ought to say that it's a hell of a thing to make an honest, down-to-earth statement. But that, as Walter Cronkite signs off, is how it is in the sacred groves of Academe—and elsewhere.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Cuban Menace

By SEN. GORDON ALLOTT (R.-Colo.)

Cuba is as much of a menace as she ever was. Recent reports in the press and elsewhere have documented the fact that campus revolutionaries are receiving aid from Cuba. Many of the leaders of the campus revolt, and also of the Black Panther movement, have been trained in Cuba.

Refugees from Cuba continue to report the presence of dangerous missiles on the island with a striking capability that poses a clear and present danger to large American cities. Just recently, some newly arrived refugees have said that there are now more missiles in Cuba than at the time of the 1962 missile crisis.

Just last month, in fact, the United States found it necessary to deny reentry visas to two Cuban diplomats on the grounds that they conducted intelligence activities and gave financial and directional aid to the Black Panthers. The same action is expected to be taken against an additional five Cuban diplomats involved in the same activity.

With the threat to our cities that these revolutionaries pose, especially this summer, we cannot in any way tolerate continued support by Cuban Communists for militant disruptive activities. Nor can we tolerate Cuban aid to student rebels. Nor should we tolerate the "exporting of revolution," which Castro mentions so frequently, to our neighbors in Latin America.

Presently, the Administration is looking toward the re-building of bridges to Latin America. The Administration is also searching for a new and effective policy toward Cuba. Certainly the best favor we could do for all of our neighbors in Central and South America—as well as for ourselves—would be to rid Cuba of communism. Undoubtedly the President's ultimate policy will be directed toward that end, because, in Mr. Nixon's own words last year: "Havana cannot remain forever a sanctuary for aggression and a base for export of terror to other lands." I emphatically support a policy directed toward that end.

Czech Equation

By SEN. THOMAS DODD (D.-Conn.)

We do not share the posture of those foolish people who tried to sweep the invasion of Czechoslovakia under the rug, or who tried to brush it off by telling us that the Soviets were taking an essentially defensive action within their own sphere of interest. Some of these people indeed went as far as to equate the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia with our intervention in the Dominican Republic. This is like equating the action of a murderer with the action of a policeman who shoots a criminal in an effort to prevent murder. I shall be more prepared to listen to those who equate the Czechoslovakia invasion with the Dominican intervention when the Soviet Union holds free elections in Czechoslovakia under international supervision.

Executive 'Treaties'

By SEN. ALLEN ELLENDER (D.-La.)

The number of executive agreements binding our nation to action has increased tremendously over the last quarter-century. These are much easier for the executive to consummate than formal treaties, for they do not undergo the searching inquiry and debate of the Senate, and they are not subject to the "advice and consent" provisions of the Constitution. As an indication of the change which has taken place, in the 50 years before World War II, 917 executive agreements were entered into by our Presidents. In the 25 years since the beginning of the war, a total of 4,358 such agreements were consummated. In the same two periods, the number of formal treaties ratified by the Senate decreased from 524 to 244. The ratio of executive agreements to formal treaty has shifted from less than two to one to approximately 18 to 1 since the Second World War.

Much of this shift took place because the world we live in has grown smaller, and because our nation and our citizens have become involved in a multitude of enterprises around the globe. Many of the agreements negotiated by the President alone involve technical matters such as trade or communications, and do not hold a dangerous potential for national commitment or involvement. Others, however, are more sweeping, and involve pledges of support or assistance for foreign governments. These do represent a potential danger, and this is what is causing concern in the Senate.

Within the coming weeks, the Senate will be debating a resolution, prepared by the Foreign Relations Committee, which states that a national commitment of our country to a foreign government can result only from affirmative action taken by both the President and the Congress. I fully intend to support the resolution, for as I have indicated, I believe that the powers of the respective branches of our government have been allowed to get out of balance in recent years.

Position of Strength

By REP. GEORGE MAHON (D.-Tex.)

There is the feeling on the part of many—and that includes myself—that if we move forward with our own ABM system, and we can move forward only at a certain rate of speed, that if we move forward with this program the likelihood will be enhanced that we can sit down at the conference table with the Soviet Union and arrive at some arms control agreement, not on disarmament, which I believe is unobtainable, but some agreement for a limitation on armaments. But so long as the Soviet Union goes forward with the deployment of its ABM and we take no steps at all, we are placed in a position in this particular field of defense—and this is defense, and not offense—of dealing from a position of weakness.

Fortas Sidelight

By REP. JAMES UTT (R.-Calif.)

There are always interesting sidelights to happenings such as Justice Fortas' resignation, but the one that takes the first prize is the reaction of one Drew Pearson, a completely irresponsible columnist in Washington. His column of May 17, referring to Fortas, led off as follows:

"When a man is down, everyone rushes in to kick him. It is the popular and cowardly thing to do . . . . When a man's down, he's down. But I for one do not intend to be part of the Fortas-kicking brigade."

These remarks are from a man who has spent most of his life kicking people down, and kicking them after they are down. He has fired a continuing barrage leveled against Otto F. Otepka, who was removed from the State Department because he testified before a Senate committee with reference to subversive influences in the State Department. President Nixon, recognizing the injustice of this matter, appointed Otepka to the Subversive Activities Control Board, at a salary of $36,000 a year.

One thing you cannot accuse Drew Pearson of, is being consistent.

Military 'Fact Fuzzing' No Help to Congress

By REP. CHARLES GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

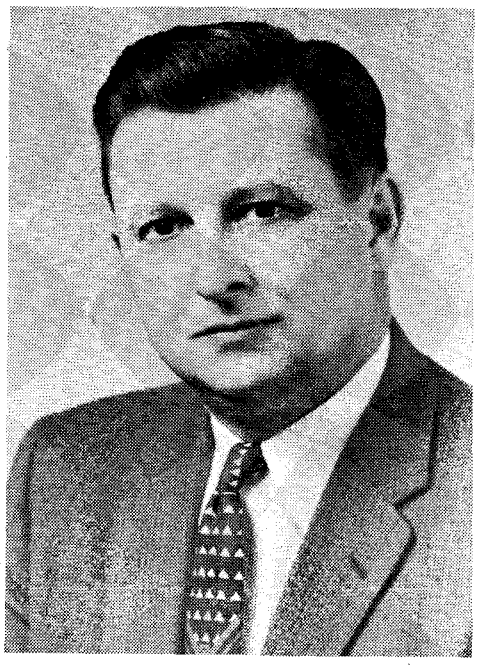
Through close association with military men in my service on the Armed Services Committee, I have been consistently impressed with their ability and devotion to duty. Contrary to what some would have you believe, they are more dedicated to peace than the average citizen. Furthermore, those in positions of responsibility usually demonstrate outstanding ability.

Despite this, a latent distrust of the man in uniform has persisted in the minds of many Americans. This feeling, fanned by a great wave of national revulsion against our involvement in Viet Nam, has now reached dangerous and serious proportions.

My opinion of the majority of career military men has not changed. I still consider them to be responsible, competent, and peace-loving. Nevertheless, I must state, in a constructive spirit, that military men themselves are partially responsible for their poor public image. For some reason Pentagon representatives have lacked candor in explaining their decisions and actions to the public and Congress. Consistently they have engaged in a practice which I call "fact fuzzing"—obscuring simple facts with "gobbledygook."

Congressmen usually reflect the mood of their constituents. Today the American public is questioning military judgment and so congressmen are asking searching questions. Unfortunately, the military is not responding with candor.

Recently I asked serious questions about a decision by the Navy to commit $342 million to build destroyers with a gas turbine propulsion system which had never been tried in a combatant vessel at such high horsepower requirements. My inquiries triggered a two-day hearing during which we probed hard trying to get the full facts from the Navy. I was informed of a secret meeting in the Pentagon on April 22 at which naval experts expressed doubts about the new propulsion system. But at our hearing these doubts were suppressed because the decision had been made that a united front before Congress was essential.



Rep. Gubser points out that the military must share some of the blame for its adverse publicity.

During a hearing of our full committee regarding the C5A overrun, it appeared that the Air Force was reluctant to be specific in answering our questions and insisted upon a roundabout briefing which consumed time but shed little light on the facts.

Another hearing of my Special Investigating subcommittee took weeks to get the facts regarding an abortive multi-million-dollar expenditure by the Army for the Sheridan-Shillelagh weapon system which still does not work as intended even though it was ordered into full production. Every roadblock I could think of was placed in our way including the classification of documents as "secret" which have appeared in the public press.

These facts, the sinking of a submarine at its dock, and the *Pueblo* and EC121 affairs have not stimulated public and congressional confidence of the military.

Military men don't consciously attempt to evade truth, but they are captives of a system where to admit a mistake is to jeopardize a career. As a result everyone struggles to avoid such an admission to protect members of the team. The result is "fact fuzzing" which doesn't do much for the military image.

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A brilliant young minister asks,
"Is God really dead—or is He just thoroughly disgusted with us?"

THE PROTEST OF A TROUBLED PROTESTANT

by Harold O.J. Brown

FORGIVE US for repeating what has become banal, but millions of Christians are sick at heart over conditions in our churches. Yes, there are protests. But all too often, they take the form of shrill tracts that put off the intelligent reader and, in truth, do no credit to the good cause they aim to serve.

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☐ *What is going on in the churches? In your denomination? In your own congregation?*

☐ *Are* **we** *losing touch—or is it the world that is heading off toward nowhere, ever more convinced of the "truth that there is no truth?"*

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- **Yesterday's blasphemy, today's *commonplace* from the pulpit. The *motives* for unbelief. The secular fevers: relativism, syncretism. What they are and how they infect the Protestant denominations.**
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Articles by Dr. Brown have appeared in *Christianity Today, National Review, The Freeman, Eternity, Christian Herald* and several foreign publications, including *The Times* of London—on sports. He is an ordained minister in the Congregational Church, and presently serves as the theological secretary of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students in Lausanne, Switzerland.

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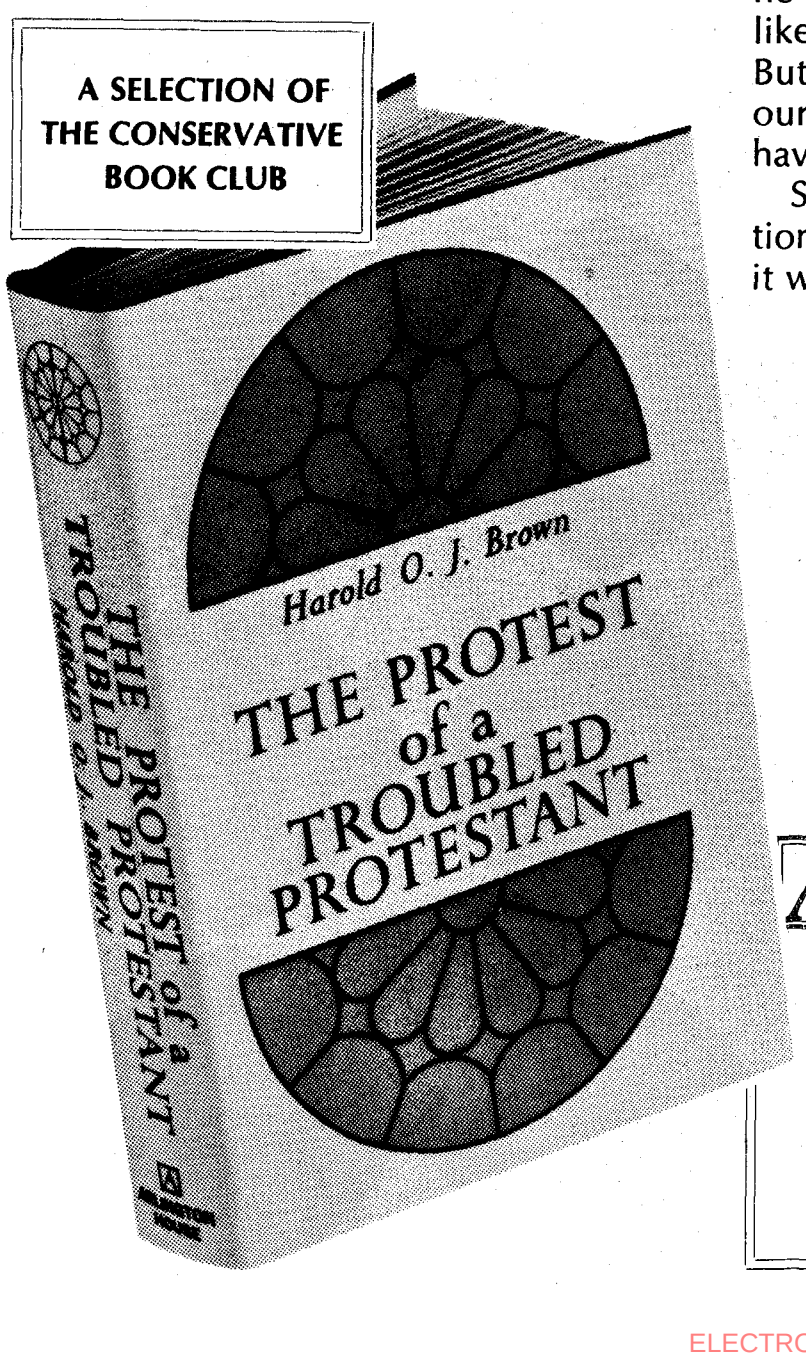

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